

LATERAN IV

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# Lateran IV

*Theology and Care of Souls*

*Edited by*

**CLARE MONAGLE**

*and*

**NESLIHAN ŞENOCAK**

BREPOLS

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Clare Monagle  
Neslihan Şenocak

## Introduction

It is only fitting that a book of history should start with the history of its own making. The reader can benefit from knowing why and how a book came into being, and what motivated its author or editor to undertake its creation. The story of this current volume originates in 2015, the year marking the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. There were several conferences in Italy and elsewhere to commemorate this most famous council of the Middle Ages, one of which was the ‘Concilium Lateranense IV: Commemorating the Octocentenary of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215’, which met in Rome on 23–29 November 2015. This was a massive, highly international conference with sixty-four sessions, organized by Brenda Bolton and Peter D. Clarke. Sessions covered numerous themes arising from the decrees of Lateran IV including those pertaining to canon law, heresy, treatment of Jews, pastoral care, clerical education, bishops, and the Crusades. After the conference the organizing committee grouped the papers under topical headings, matched some of the presenters with the topics, and asked them to edit their papers under that heading. We were asked to edit the papers concerning theology (Clare Monagle) and pastoral care (Neslihan Şenocak), resulting in the present volume. Some of the collected articles covering other themes in the conference have already been published.<sup>1</sup>

As the most celebrated Church council of the Middle Ages, Lateran IV has a tremendous historiography attached to it. As it would be impossible to cite this historiography in its totality, we will only provide here a historical context regarding the theological and pastoral aspects of Lateran IV.

## Theology and Lateran IV: A Historiographical Overview

Lateran IV combined the highest of theology with a score of canons that pertained to forging a new relationship between the clergy and laity in the

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<sup>1</sup> On canon law, see Larson and Massironi, eds, *The Fourth Lateran Council and the Development of Canon Law*. On the Crusades, Bird and Smith, eds, *The Fourth Lateran Council and the Crusade Movement*. On the question of Lateran IV’s approach to Jews and Muslims, see Champagne and Resnick, eds, *Jews and Muslims under the Fourth Lateran Council*.

matter of right worship.<sup>2</sup> While the Council is most famous for the boldness of its reform agenda, this agenda was inaugurated in the initial canons of the Council with a *credo*. This *credo* offered a formulation of the faith drawing upon recent theological innovations of the schoolmen, most notably in its articulation of the Trinitarian doctrine. As will be further explored in this volume, scholarly work concerned with the Council has focused on the Council's reforming agenda, with scholars identifying Lateran IV as a harbinger of pastoral reform, and the determination evinced by the papacy to regulate Christian practices and formalize a sacramental regime. Until very recently, much less attention had been paid to the role played by academic theology within the canons of the Council, and in particular the focus placed upon the twelfth-century theologian Peter Lombard in the second canon of the Council.

Canon 2 of the Council defended Peter Lombard against accusations of heresy by Joachim of Fiore.<sup>3</sup> Joachim had, in a no longer extant text, apparently charged Peter Lombard with the creation of a quaternity, inasmuch as he identified an *una quaedam summa res* — a certain highest thing — as being the name for the unity of the three persons of the Trinity. For Joachim, such a designation was tantamount to heresy, offering an unnecessarily forensic approach to sacred mystery. The Council, however, wholeheartedly rejected Joachim's critique. Instead, Peter Lombard's Trinitarian theology was endorsed at the highest of levels. This endorsement was unprecedented in the history of medieval papal councils. Never before had a contemporary theologian been cited in this way in council constitutions. The endorsement of Lombard, who had after all written the textbook in theology which lay at the centre of the curriculum of the newly founded University of Paris, was not only about fine points of theological distinction. This endorsement also demonstrates the degree to which scholastic theology had become mainstream among the elites of Western Europe. Innocent III was, after all, the first pope to have been trained in the schools.

It is somewhat surprising, given the strong endorsement of Lombard's thought and reputation at Lateran IV, that until recently there had been so little focus on scholastic theology and Lateran IV. Until comparatively recently, there has also been relatively little scholarly focus on Peter Lombard and the role played by his *Sentences* in the construction and codification

<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey M. Wayno's 2018 article 'Rethinking the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215' explains and challenges the status of the event in medieval historiography, as well as offering an excellent bibliography of scholarship pertaining to the Council. Foundational works in the study of Lateran IV include Bolton, 'A Show with a Meaning'; Maccarrone, 'Il IV Concilio Lateranense'; Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216*; Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, particularly pp. 228–52; Tillmann, *Papst Innocenz III*.

<sup>3</sup> For recent discussions of the endorsement of Peter Lombard's theology at Lateran IV, see Gemeinhardt, 'The Trinitarian Theology of Joachim of Fiore' and Gemeinhardt, 'Joachim the Theologian'. See also Mews and Monagle, 'Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore, and the Fourth Lateran Council'. See also Marcia Colish's essay in this volume, as well as her field-defining *Peter Lombard*.

of the curriculum of the schools, which would become the universities. Until the publication of Marcia Colish's magisterial *Peter Lombard* in 1994, scholarship pertaining to the twelfth-century schools had tended to focus upon the theology, and attendant controversies, attached to Peter Abelard and his world. In particular, Abelard's *Sic et Non* dominated accounts of the origins of the scholastic method.<sup>4</sup> The other thinker who had prevailed in the scholarship of twelfth-century theology was Peter the Chanter, whose ideas and impact have been meticulously explicated by John W. Baldwin over the course of his career.<sup>5</sup> Baldwin's work reveals how theological training in the latter decades of the twelfth century had expanded its focus from that of the formulation doctrine in order to examine questions of Christian life as it ought to be lived and how Christian communities ought to be governed. The relative dominance of Abelard and Peter the Chanter in the historiography of the twelfth-century schools implicitly suggested a transformation in theology itself over that period, from abstract theological reasoning to applied pastoral theology as constituting pedagogical and intellectual norms.

Colish's work on Peter Lombard, however, insisted on the centrality of the *Sentences* to subsequent developments in theology, showing how its ideas structured the horizon of possibility for subsequent centuries of scholastic theology. In light of her work, subsequent scholars made use of her insights in order to understand why the Council was moved to defend Lombard's name and theology so vigorously and so publicly, and to account for Peter Lombard's prominent place in the boldest papal council of the Middle Ages. Peter Gemeinhardt, Constant J. Mews, and Clare Monagle have each drawn attention to the defence of Lombard at Lateran IV and have argued that it constitutes a profound endorsement of his *Sentences* and its foundational role in theological training. In registering the strength of Lombard's appearance in the canons of Lateran IV, and in assessing its historical and theological meaning, these scholars have insisted that the Council be understood as bearing a strong theological agenda in conjunction with its claims to the pastoral. Hence, the ambition of this volume is to invite a conversation between the two.

## Pastoral Care and Lateran IV: A Historiographical Overview

Today, Lateran IV is hailed as a pinnacle of Innocent III's pastoral reform, but it might be sobering to note that the first studies published on Lateran IV did not regard the council as being particularly linked to pastoral care. Lateran IV was associated with reform, although not of a pastoral order, but rather a political one aimed at consolidating papal power. In the first book-length

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<sup>4</sup> Wei, 'Of Scholasticism and Canon Law'.

<sup>5</sup> Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*.

study of the council, *Innocent III: Le concile de Latran et la réforme de l'Église*, Achille Luchaire does not once use the word 'pastoral', nor does he associate the decrees on confession or clerical education with pastoral care.<sup>6</sup> Instead he focuses his attention on the Crusades (notably the Albigensian one), the German schism, and papal sovereignty as the main aspects of papal reform. The pastoral ambition of Innocent III and by extension the 'pastorality' of Lateran IV first receive mention in the works of Augustin Fliche and Michele Maccarrone.<sup>7</sup> However, this pastorality is asserted within the framework of a very specific and divided historiography on Innocent III's legacy, at the heart of which lay the difficulty of where to place it on a scale measuring the love of exercising spiritual versus temporal power. Both Fliche and Maccarrone regarded Innocent III as keeping the spiritual interests of the Church in view, and his actions directed towards that end rather than towards a claim to temporal power.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, in his 1931 book on Innocent III, Leonard E. Binns recognizes Lateran IV as the crowning achievement of Innocent III, 'as the beginning of a new stage in the history of the Church',<sup>9</sup> although he also does not interpret the Council as an act of pastoral reform. Rather he reads many of the canons within the sphere of setting norms for clerical conduct and the prevention of clerical abuses to elevate the status of priesthood in general. Canon 21 on annual confession, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which is today routinely considered as a pastoral canon, for Binns instead falls into the category of provision of lay conduct.<sup>10</sup>

Helene Tillmann's biography of Innocent III, published in 1954, brought a surer foundation to the understanding of the pastoral agenda of Lateran IV. She wrote that Lateran IV 'became a monument to [Innocent's] sense of pastoral responsibility and to his reformating ardour. The Fourth Lateran Council makes us feel what is so rarely to be sensed in the councils of the twelfth century, whether Roman or non-Roman: the immediate concern for pastoral care. We feel as if we are breaking new ground in the conciliar field'.<sup>11</sup> In English-language scholarship, the work of Brenda Bolton on Innocent III was influential in its focus on Innocent III as a spiritual ruler who genuinely wanted to reform the Church in order to respond better to the needs of the faithful.<sup>12</sup> Within this framework, Bolton saw Lateran IV as a council primarily

<sup>6</sup> Luchaire, *Innocent III*.

<sup>7</sup> Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*; Maccarrone, *Chiesa e stato*.

<sup>8</sup> For a summary of the diverging viewpoints concerning Innocent's legacy, see the Introduction to Powell, ed., *Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?*, pp. 1–9. Powell's edition also contains English translations of the excerpts from Fliche's and Maccarrone's books cited here.

<sup>9</sup> Binns, *Innocent III*, p. 168.

<sup>10</sup> Binns, *Innocent III*, p. 180.

<sup>11</sup> Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, p. 189. I have cited the 1980 English translation here.

<sup>12</sup> Bolton, *Innocent III* is a collection of articles Bolton published on Innocent III's papacy. In her Preface to the volume, p. ix, she wrote that by moving away from the issue of imperial

convened to establish Innocent's spiritual and pastoral vision.<sup>13</sup> Norman Tanner systematically went through the statutes of Lateran IV and indicated which ones were of a pastoral character.<sup>14</sup>

The work published during the last forty years on the pastorality of Lateran IV has often been considered and commented upon together with the medieval Paris theologians and their interest in clerical reform. Scholars such as John Baldwin, Leonard E. Boyle, and Joe Goering saw the sermons, preaching aids, and confession manuals produced within the medieval university milieu as pastorally oriented, and argued for the influence of the medieval university scholars on papal policy and Lateran IV.<sup>15</sup>

\* \* \*

Continuing with this tradition, while yet seeking to point out the complexity of the issues at hand, this book seeks to place the theological and pastoral projects of Lateran IV alongside one another, in order to demonstrate that they should not necessarily be separate categories, but in fact can be said to inform one another. The pastoral has become the doctrinal and vice versa. The defence of Lombard's *una summa quaedam res* might seem to hinge on a point of obscurantism, offering precisely the cliché of solipsism with which the humanists charged scholastic theology. But, in Canon 2, the Council was not only endorsing a particular point of doctrine, it was also endorsing the scholastic method as a legitimate mode for the discovery of divine truths. This mattered, not only because of the increasing prestige of the schools, but also because the methods deployed in the schools were the basis of the new practices of governance that were occurring across Western Europe at this time. As R. I. Moore has pointed out, over the course of the twelfth century, school-trained men came to dominate practices of administration, applying the methods of dialectical reasoning in which they had been trained to problems of governance.<sup>16</sup> Lateran IV was planned, executed, and implemented by theologian-bureaucrats such as Robert of Courçon and Stephen Langton, both of whom had emerged from the school of Peter the Chanter.<sup>17</sup> For Peter the Chanter, pastoral and speculative theologies emanated from the same

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struggle 'instead, in seeking a spiritual dimension, I have sought the inspiration of Innocent's own letters and sermons. These, together with related accounts by contemporaries and eye-witnesses, often working openly or at times covertly, can reveal a spirituality which many have either neglected, discounted or not even looked for'.

<sup>13</sup> See Bolton, 'A Show with a Meaning'.

<sup>14</sup> Tanner, 'Pastoral Care'.

<sup>15</sup> Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants* and Baldwin, 'Paris et Rome en 1215'; Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law*; Goering, *William de Montibus*. Şenocak's chapter in this volume discusses this particular historiography in greater depth.

<sup>16</sup> Moore, *The First European Revolution*.

<sup>17</sup> Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*; Baldwin, 'Paris et Rome en 1215'; Baldwin, 'The Intellectual Preparation for the Canon of 1215 against Ordeals'; Baldwin, 'Master Stephen Langton, Future Archbishop of Canterbury'.

intellectual reforming practices. He trained his students in assessing pastoral issues systematically, drawing upon *auctoritates*. The statutes of Lateran IV reflect this conviction, that pastoral care and the elaboration of orthodox doctrine were not separate endeavours, but two sides of the same coin. The three chapters in this volume that pertain to theology attempt to show this interrelationship, and to make sense of how pastoral and speculative concerns feed into the overall project of the Council.

\* \* \*

Clare Monagle's chapter inauguates the volume by surveying the historiographical frameworks within which Lateran IV has been understood thus far. She notes the common place within which Lateran IV is described as a 'watershed' council, even across a number of ideological historiographical lines. On the one hand, scholars working in a Foucauldian mode have tended to see Lateran IV as foundational in that it established an apparatus for persecution and sacramental rigidity. Scholars such as R. I. Moore and Dyan Elliot have argued that the Council's focus upon the boundaries of orthodoxy, as well as the creation of the confessional subject, laid the basis for the machinery of inquisition. Other scholars have assessed the conference as a 'watershed' in a different sense: they read Lateran IV as evidence of intellectual consolidation and managerial sophistication on the part of the papacy. In these accounts, read alongside the issuing of the *Magna Carta* and the founding statutes of the University of Paris, scholars have seen in Lateran IV the consequence of a savvy and strategic Church, marking its place in the world with vigour and ambition. Monagle argues that both readings of the Council are problematized by another strain in the historiography, scholarship that pertains to the patchy and eclectic implementation of Lateran IV across Europe. While the Council was certainly bold in its ambitions, evidence has increasingly come to light that this ambition was not matched in the scale of the roll-out of its reform agenda. Monagle's chapter, the caveat of limited impact notwithstanding, argues that Lateran IV somewhat deserves its watershed status. The Council argued, within the combination of its claims and its reforms, that the intellectual, spiritual, pastoral, and doctrinal aspects of life needed to be integrated for the Christian subject to prosper.

The second chapter, by Marcia Colish, meticulously maps the intellectual genealogies that informed the Council's endorsement of Lombard. It is very tempting to see the Council's elevation of Lombard at the expense of Joachim of Fiore as part of a type of culture war between avant-garde theologians and monastic mystics, following from the sort of quarrels that had taken place in the previous century between men like Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux. Certainly, the way the Council sets Lombard in distinction to the Calabrian abbot would seem to recycle a scholasticism versus monasticism divide. Colish reveals that this binary cannot be sustained, because the version of Lombard's Trinitarian theology that the Council offers is mediated through Stephen Langton's reading of Lombard. Langton had, in fact, rejected some

of the more radical aspects of Lombard's theology, instead reframing it in Augustinian terms. Colish's intervention is significant here because, while a great deal of recent scholarship has begun to take stock of the endorsement of Lombard, Colish has mapped for the first time the version of Lombard that is obtained at Lateran IV. She reveals that it is not the more controversial version of Lombard, the figure whose legacy was the subject of sustained attacks after his death, who was endorsed at Lateran IV. The Lombard of the 1170s was charged with being a Christological nihilist, and there was so much disquiet about aspects of his theological opinions that Pope Alexander III had to resist injunctions to put his alleged heresies on the agenda at Lateran III. In showing us the Langtonian theological impulse informing the defence of Lombard, Colish enables us to make sense of the ways in which Lombard's ideas had been modified and vouchsafed by the theologians of Peter the Chanter and his circle. As such, the endorsement of Lombard stands to validate the contemporary intellectual practices of turn-of-the-century schoolmen — a cohort intent upon the integration of the scholastic project with pastoral reform.

The final chapter on the theology of the Council, that of Juanita Feros Ruys, considers a hitherto rarely examined section of Canon 1. Canon 1 refers to the threat of the 'devil and other demons', as part of the famous Credo that opens the conciliar text, known as the *Firmiter*. Lateran IV begins with a statement of faith, a bold beginning compared to prior Councils. Lateran II and III, both of which took place in the previous century, had immediately focused upon points of doctrinal controversy, clearly responding defensively to contemporary events at the time. Lateran IV, as we have already seen, was a highly ambitious council. The Credo declared this ambition from the start, by making a robust statement of orthodoxy that was universal in aspiration, rather than local. Strikingly, as Ruys points out, the Devil appears in the Credo, but not with *his* demons, as was the usual formulation, but with *other* demons. As with Colish's previous chapter, Ruys performs a meticulous analysis of the precise phrasing deployed. She reveals that the only possible source for this particular demonological formulation was Alan of Lille *De fide catholica*, a text written to refute the alleged heresy of the Waldensians and the Cathars. In locating the source for this particular formulation, Ruys places the *Firmiter* firmly within particular anxieties about Catharism, which had been charged with elevating the Devil to equality with God. In refusing the idea of the Devil and *his* demons, the Council was rejecting the idea of the all-powerful devil leading a horde of malevolent foot soldiers. Rather, Lateran IV offered an alternative demonology, one in which the world was full of a myriad of more ordinary demons. In so doing, Ruys argues, the council refracts an Augustinian view of evil that defines it ultimately as a privation of the good, rather than as a singular creative agent. This was the argument that Alan of Lille was determined to make, that to assign such power to the Devil was in fact to undermine God's omnipotence.

Taken together, the three chapters on theology caution against the idea of reading Lateran IV as crudely hegemonic in its operations. There is a

tendency to read the particular theology of the first two canons of the Council as signifying a scholastic triumph against heresy and monastic mysticism. What our analyses show, however, is that the ostensible scholasticism of the first two canons actually mediates the ideas of a number of theologians who are understood to work in the more pastoral traditions of Peter the Chanter's school. For these theologians, scholastic theology was not only a mode to precise formulations of abstract doctrine, but a way to work out how to live as a Christian.

'If you love me, feed my sheep.' This verse from the Gospel of John has defined the *raison d'être* of the Roman Catholic clergy for centuries: to care for the souls of all passing through the earthly realm and lead them towards salvation; in other words, to feed the sheep of Christ. That feeding meant sanctification of the laity by the clergy through sacraments and other means such as the canonizations, and as such the term 'pastoral' signifies, among others, a relation, that of clergy to laity, and pastoral care in its broadest sense is all that the clergy does to prepare for the salvation of laity. Many aspects of medieval Christianity such as the development of the institution of the Church, the construction of chapels, churches, deaneries, canonries, and cathedrals, the evolution of the roles and duties of deacons, archdeacons, archpriests, bishops, and the pope, the development of sacramental ministry, and so on, either originated in, were related to, or were justified by pastoral needs and ideals. Even those that appear to be devotional rather than pastoral, such as the popular cults of saints, are nevertheless pastoral, since it was through the priests that such cults were preserved, proliferated, confirmed, or rejected by means of inquests, inquisitions, composition of *vita*, or canonization processes.

The pastorality of medieval Christianity is perhaps one of its least understood aspects. Even seasoned medievalists are prone to ask what exactly is the 'care of souls' (lat. *cura animarum*). In the historiography, it is quite often associated with the friars, since they seem to be the ones who employed this term frequently and with respect to their religious activities, especially preaching and hearing confessions. It is perhaps insufficiently understood that the care of souls, like all other things in history, is not fixed in its content, and clergy in different centuries and different spaces harboured various ideas about how to go about saving souls. Like all other human phenomena, care of souls is subject to trends and fashions. Naturally, in a volume about Lateran IV, we are looking at what care of souls was at the time of Lateran IV, but it is important to remember that the Lateran vision of care of souls should be understood as a new 'trend' rather than the improvement of a fixed set of practices inherited from the past.

This argument lies at the heart of the first article in the section on care of souls by Neslihan Şenocak. It has been customary to regard Lateran IV as the culmination of a pastoral reform movement that emerged in the late twelfth century. The received narrative is that conscientious churchmen and religious intellectuals such as the Peter the Chanter circle became concerned about the ignorance of priests, as they saw them failing to instruct the laity adequately

in religious matters. Consequently, these church- and schoolmen wanted to reform what they perceived to be an inadequate provision of pastoral service. One of Şenocak's main arguments is that while pushing for more education and instruction for laity, the medieval churchmen connected to universities undermined the nature of the traditional pastoral care offered by the clergy in the past. Şenocak's article sets out to contextualize the pastoral vision of Lateran IV, considering in particular what had come before. What were the competing visions of pastoral care prior to 1215? As she goes through a concise history of the care of souls, Şenocak finds that, while some prominent aspects of pastoral care, such as the care for material needs of laity, were absent from the Lateran programme, instruction in doctrinal matters was given an overwhelming emphasis. This emphasis was propagated by the Paris theologians, and popularized and spread by the secular and regular clergy connected to university circles, especially by the mendicant friars.

Jessalyn Bird's article constitutes a perfect follow-up to the view of Lateran IV as a council whose pastoral vision was largely shaped by university men. There has been considerable scholarly activity to understand how extensively the decrees of Lateran IV were implemented. Bird makes an important contribution here to this subject. Utilizing the fruits of impressive and meticulous research in the archives, she brings alive sermons preached and synodal legislation made by the thirteenth-century men connected to the Parisian university and the Victorine school. She examines their language and content to demonstrate how these sermons and legislation were used to advance the reform agenda of Lateran IV both before and after the council. In them, the Paris-educated churchmen denounced unworthy priests, called for improving the religious education of the laity, and sought to distinguish the clergy from laity by dress, moral standards, and behaviour. The conciliar activity at the diocesan level gives us important information concerning how the decrees of Lateran IV were communicated to both lay and clerical audiences.

One of the most written-about canons of Lateran IV is no doubt Canon 21, *Omnis utriusque sexus*. Making annual confession to *sacerdos proprius* obligatory for all Christian faithful, the canon attracted the attention of not only medievalists, but also modern philosophers who have interpreted it as the dangerous seed of government surveillance and control of the individual. For the historian of medieval religion, exactly what constitutes *sacerdos proprius*, that is, one's own priest, is equally important as the introduction of the obligation of annual confession. Pier Virginio Aimone Braida's essay opens up with a discussion of Canon 21. He examines precisely how the canon lawyers interpreted the concept of *sacerdos proprius*, and the conditions for choosing a confessor other than one's own priest. This is, however, only the opening salvo of a deeper investigation concerning the making of the 'parish'. For Aimone, Lateran IV is a transformative moment in the making of a parish as a special spatial, economic, and spiritual entity with a monopoly on guiding the life of the faithful. After Canon 21 on confession, Aimone goes on to inspect the economic aspects of the parish by looking at the canons which concern the

income of priests. Following a discussion on the education of priests, Aimone contributes to the ongoing debate about the extent to which the decrees of Lateran IV were implemented.

The Fourth Lateran Council took place in Rome, the city of the papacy. If the Council had taken place somewhere else in Christendom, or even somewhere else in Italy, would its decrees have been different? What has been the special contribution of the city of Rome to the Council, if any? Did the pope's experience in the pastoral governance of Rome in his capacity as its bishop influence his pastoral views with regard to the rest of Christendom? Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri's essay takes up this important question. He starts by mapping the relation between the papacy (and Innocent III in particular) and the clergy and churches of Rome. He studies the interventions of the pope on the pastoral landscape of Rome: the organization of parishes, the institution of the vicariate, and the development of the processions and liturgical ceremonies in some of the important churches of Rome. With this knowledge in mind, he then examines the specific decrees of Lateran IV, such as Canon 32 on vicars and Canon 44 on the lay exploitation of ecclesiastical goods, to establish how they were shaped by Innocent's experience with the Roman clergy.

One of the important questions considered by the various chapters in this volume is what was, in fact, the pastoral vision of Innocent III, the pope who headed Lateran IV. To that end, Şenocak examines a sermon written by Innocent and argues that he stands at the crossroads of an older type of pastoral care that focused upon prayer and participation in liturgy, and the new pastoral care based upon teaching and confession. Carpegna Falconieri focuses on the pastoral decisions made by Innocent III in his rule of the city of Rome as bishop, reading his career in the local context of his own episcopal formation. Anne E. Lester's article, in the same vein, investigates hitherto unedited prayers attributed to Innocent III, in order to apprehend the pope's personal commitment to pastoral care. She places his prayers in the broader context of Innocent III's liturgical reforms, particularly those related to the Crusades and to the veneration of relics. Focused on prayers written for the so-called Veronica, or the *sudarium* relic, Lester analyses how Innocent III crafted theological ideas about the material qualities of God as manifest in the world and how he offered these concepts to the laity through the medium of prayer and ritual practice. The evidence marshalled here portrays Innocent as a pastor deeply moved by the spiritually transformative power of prayer that lay at the heart of his pastoral vision in the face of the twin preoccupations of his papacy, those of crusading and the fight against heresy.

Read together, these chapters reveal the interconnection of Lateran IV's theological and pastoral ambition. Lateran IV signals the moment when the apprehension of doctrine began to be considered a crucial aspect of participation in Christian life. It was no longer enough just to practise the faith — the believer must also understand the faith. The insistence upon confession was a crucial part of this shift. Confession demands a knowing subject, capable of

understanding their place in the world and their responsibility to God. The section of this volume devoted to theology reveals the intellectual foundations of this shift, tracing the ways in which emerging scholastic theologies enabled the articulation of doctrine, and the concomitant articulation of heresy. The chapters that focus upon pastoral care place this shift within the frame of new practices of pastoral governance. These chapters reveal that we should proceed very cautiously indeed when we assume that the categories of theology and pastoral care can be constituted separately in our scholarship.

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## PART I

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# Theology and Lateran IV



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## Lateran IV, Theology, and the Pastoral

Since the Middle Ages at least, Western societies have established the confession as one of the main rituals we rely on for the production of truth: the codification of the sacrament of penance by the Lateran Council in 1215, with the resulting development of confessional techniques, the declining importance of accusatory procedures in criminal justice, the abandonment of test of guilt (sworn statements, duels, judgments of God) and the development of methods of interrogation and inquest, the increased participation of royal administration in the prosecution of infractions, at the expense of proceedings leading to private settlement, the setting up of tribunals of the Inquisition: all this helped give the confession a central role in the order of civil and religious powers.<sup>1</sup>

The twelfth century saw the systematization of the Western Church's thought in theology and canon law. By 1200, two standardizing works, Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and Gratian's *Decretum*, had taken a central place as the textbooks of theology and canon law, respectively, a place they retained down to the end of the Middle Ages. This systematisation of thought by the preceding century's schoolmen received the authoritative stamp by the institutional Church at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Convoked by Innocent III and attended by 412 bishops and over 800 abbots and priors, the Council reflected Pope Innocent III's ambitious agenda for reforming the Church's moral life and calling a new crusade to the Holy Land. In many ways, Lateran IV set the pattern for the thought and practice of the Catholic Church in the present day.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, p. 58.

2 Reeves, 'Education and Religious Instruction', p. 103.

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The Fourth Lateran Council has been ubiquitously described as a 'watershed' event by historians, theologians, and philosophers.<sup>3</sup> This observation is not offered in the spirit of judgement. I have described the 1215 event thus a number of times myself, in the classroom and in print. Factors such as the epic scale of the event, its symbolic power, not to mention the subsequent influence of the Council's constitutions, easily lend Fourth Lateran to the designation of a 'watershed.' That is, the Council looms as a profound turning point, offering an epochal shift from which there could be no return. The event serves as a mirror to processes that we can see occurring across the realms of politics, culture, and religion throughout the Latin West in the high Middle Ages. These are processes such as the shift from orality to literacy as the dominant mode of communication for recording transactions and relationships. Or, the event might be understood to represent the move from customary and local systems of pastoral care towards standardized practice. The constitutions of Lateran IV offer a raft of bold reforms, alongside determined statements of doctrinal novelty.<sup>4</sup> The constitutions begin with a declarative *credo*, and then move from the sublime to the ridiculous, from the cosmic to the seemingly mundane. As such, in their bold richness and exhaustive reforming thoroughness, they offer a gift to the historical imagination. Lateran IV, as an event, can carry a great deal of historiographical meaning, representing a distant past, but also anticipating certain forms of modernity.

For Foucault, famously, Lateran IV suggests the first cogent articulation of what he called pastoral power, the idea that the responsibility of authority was to engender the salvation of the individual, to manifest the mechanisms that protect, liberate, and cultivate the subject. Foucault argued that the modern state offers an alternative form of pastoral power, offering salvation in this world, rather than the next. But in spite of that shift from the eschatological to a worldly salvation, Foucault insisted that the pastoral vision of the human subject, embedded in the theology of Lateran IV, obtained well into modernity, even in a more secular guise.<sup>5</sup> This reading of Lateran IV has been reprised in Foucauldian scholarship with gusto. As is well known, Lateran IV mandated yearly individual confession for the faithful. This was part of the broad range of pastoral reforms propounded

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Biller surveys the importance of Lateran IV, and the idea of a 'watershed' in 'Confession in the Middle Ages', p. 30. For a more recent account of the status of Lateran IV in medieval historiography, see Jeffrey M. Wayno's excellent 2018 article 'Rethinking the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215'.

<sup>4</sup> On the organization and content of Lateran IV, see Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216*. For a general summary of the proceedings in English, see Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, particularly pp. 228–52. Tillmann, *Papst Innocenz III* has vivid detail about the Council, and Innocent's role within it. On the relationship between scholastic theology and the constitutions of Lateran IV, see Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse*, and Monagle, 'Theology, Practice and Policy at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century'.

<sup>5</sup> See Golder, 'Foucault and the Genealogy of Pastoral Power'.

by the Council.<sup>6</sup> For Foucault, this move signified a shift in subjectification in the West, inasmuch as it revealed the desire of authority to produce a confessing subject, who examined her conscience in tandem with the strictures placed upon her by forms of power. In the Middle Ages, this power was the Church, which insisted that the individual yield to the confessor in order to achieve salvation. In modernity, however, the confessing subject yields to the doctor, the courtroom, and/or the analyst. In both periods, according to Foucault, the subject is expected to submit to pastoral authority in exchange for redemption and the alleviation of suffering.

For many medieval historians, as exemplified by Andrew Reeves above, Lateran IV is a ‘watershed’ because we see the Church taking on a certain doctrinal and structural shape that inheres until the present day, at the very least within the Catholic clerical imaginary, and at the very most in terms of core points of doctrine and the triumph of scholastic theology. After all, Lateran IV is the council that mandates the aforementioned yearly confession, as well as putting the word ‘transubstantiation’ on the books for the first time. Lateran IV insists upon the bodily and spiritual continence of clerics. The constitutions explicitly forbid clerics from participation in a range of worldly activities. Lateran IV produces the cleric, and the clerical realm, as austere and rational in opposition to the pleasures of the world and its vices. The Council also endorses the key theologian whose words had been used to train these clerics, Peter Lombard. In an unprecedented move, Lateran IV confessed *cum petro*, with Peter Lombard. It was the first time in the Middle Ages that a contemporary theologian had been endorsed in this way, with Lombard having only died around 1160. In the time since his death, his *Sentences* had become the core textbook in theological training in the schools of Paris. The Council declared Lombard’s orthodoxy against charges of heresy that had been laid against his Trinitarian theology by the very popular mystic Joachim of Fiore.<sup>7</sup> Considered in this way, Lateran IV looms as a register of the increasingly sophisticated modes of governance emerging in Western Europe during the high Middle Ages, backed by school-trained bureaucrats capable of synthesis and codification. In these types of accounts, such as that of Reeves, the Catholic Church of today’s popular imagination — centralized, hierarchical, and doctrinal — was birthed at Lateran IV.

Where the Foucauldian approach focuses upon Lateran IV and subject formation, the normative medievalist reading of the event has considered the Council in terms of what it reveals about the institution/s of the Church. In the work of R. I. Moore and Dyan Elliott, most notably, these approaches have come together. In R. I. Moore’s ground-breaking *The Formation of a*

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<sup>6</sup> On pastoral theology, see Boyle, ‘The Constitution “Cum ex eo” of Boniface VIII’; Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law*; and Duggan, ‘Conciliar Law, 1123–1215’.

<sup>7</sup> On the endorsement of Peter Lombard at Lateran IV, see Mews and Monagle, ‘Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore, and the Fourth Lateran Council’, Gemeinhardt, ‘The Trinitarian Theology of Joachim of Fiore’, and Gemeinhardt, ‘Joachim the Theologian’.

*Persecuting Society*, he drew upon his understanding of the structural reforms enacted by the Church to suggest that

Lateran IV laid down a machinery of persecution for Western Christendom, and especially a range of sanctions for those convicted, which was to prove adaptable to a much wider variety of victims than the heretics for whom it was designed.<sup>8</sup>

Moore suggested, and his claims have been much debated subsequently, that it was at Lateran IV that the pastoral became persecutory. That is, it was in 1215 that the papacy was finally able to inscribe into law a raft of reforms that would enable the clear articulation of the aberrant subject. In producing the orthodox Christian subject, he argued, so too did Lateran IV produce its aberrant other. In Elliott's work, she has focused upon the gendered implications of Lateran IV's 'machinery'. Taking Foucault's argument as to the centrality of the confession to a great number of mechanisms of proof in the Middle Ages, Elliott has noted the particular implications for real women, as well as the idea of woman in the Middle Ages. She writes:

The different agencies responsible for generating these proofs — be they theological circles, the university hierarchy, ecclesiastical tribunals, or the papal curia — were all patriarchal in nature.<sup>9</sup>

Elliott goes on to show that this proving culture, as she has it, offered a contradictory set of opportunities for women. On the one hand, the primacy of confession insisted upon the integrity of every Christian's soul, women included. This brought individuals into the orbit of a confessor, and therefore offered a mode through which women could explore their own sanctity, and articulate the nuances of their conscience. But it also made the holiness of women and their performance of it more public and, consequently, increasingly surveyed. While having different foci in terms of the assessment of impact, Moore and Elliott share a reading of Lateran IV as mechanized, bringing about a new world order in Christendom, one that was ideological and prejudiced.

I have outlined historiographical approaches to Lateran IV that agree, in spite of profound differences in overall evaluations of the ethical results of that Council, that Lateran IV was indeed a 'watershed'. And certainly, when read through the prism of what followed 1215, particularly regarding the emergence of practices of inquisition, the idea of Lateran IV as instituting a type of machine seems sustainable. At the same time, it should give us some pause to assign the type of teleological power to the Council in the way that these accounts tend to do. As we saw, Foucault wrote, 'Western societies have established'. Reeves wrote, 'the twelfth century saw'. Moore wrote, 'Lateran IV

8 Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, p. 10.

9 Elliott, *Proving Women*, p. 297.

laid down'. In each instance, the abstraction of agency in these statements gives concepts such as Western Society, Lateran IV, or the Twelfth Century a type of momentum, without naming the human actors, as well as the myriad historical phenomena that account for these shifts. I offer this observation, once again, not as a criticism. It is impossible to talk about large historical shifts — which are clear and demonstrable real things — without this type of generalizing language. These types of observations are the necessary bread and butter of historical writing. At the same time, historical research into the minutiae of Lateran IV, from its origins to its implementation, does not reveal a streamlined set of bureaucratic machinery capable of propagating reform across Christendom. Instead, scholars have identified a complicated and contested process, one that was patchy and contingent. Even the constitutions themselves, when read together, seem uneven in focus and portent. The Council combines the highest of theology with the most precise of injunctions. The Council makes complicated statements about Trinitarian theology alongside issues that pertain to the minutiae of church governance. And recent scholarship, looking at what we might call Lateran IV's roll-out, has revealed that the bold ambitions evinced by the Council's language were not matched by a regime of standardized imposition and compliance checking.<sup>10</sup> Considered in this way, Lateran IV was a bold document of aspirational legislation, but one that required the development of a concomitant machinery to achieve its ambitions, rather than a machine in itself.

In what follows, I am going to contrast the micro work on Lateran IV that has so meticulously mapped the event's contingency, alongside the type of productive analyses that we have encountered above. This is not to make a claim for the superiority of one approach over the other. Rather, I hope that the devil might be in the details, that in considering these historiographies of Lateran IV it might be possible to make sense of this aspirational legislation in context, in order to understand how its meanings exceed the sum of its parts. Lateran IV functions powerfully in our historiographies, it carries huge narrative weight, in spite of mixed evidence as to its direct impact at the time. This chapter will attempt to interrogate this gap, in order to understand Lateran IV as both historical event and temporal talisman. As Norman Swanson has written, 'Lateran IV started a process of change, initiated a dynamism which was to be spread — with admittedly varying degrees of effectiveness — throughout the Western world, and beyond'.<sup>11</sup> Thinking in the micro and the macro here might enable us to think about the impact of Lateran IV in a way that recognizes the importance of that dynamism, rather than reifying it as monolithic or hegemonic.

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<sup>10</sup> On the implementation of Lateran IV in various parts of Christendom, see Birkett, 'The Pastoral Application of the Lateran IV Reforms in the Northern Province'; Perron, 'Metropolitan Might and Papal Power on the Latin-Christian Frontier'; and Pixton, *The German Episcopacy*.

<sup>11</sup> Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p. 2.

## The Idea of the Church?

There can be no doubt that the language of Lateran IV presents the idea of a strong and sovereign Church. Lateran IV begins with a *credo*:

We firmly believe and simply confess that there is only one true God, eternal and immeasurable, almighty, unchangeable, incomprehensible and ineffable. Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three persons but one absolutely simple essence, substance or nature.<sup>12</sup>

This very bold start was in stark contrast with preceding councils in the twelfth century, which had focused upon points of doctrine and discipline from the onset. At Lateran II, which had taken place in 1139, the constitutions of the council began much more practically, with a firm injunction against simony. Philosophically, Lateran II emerged out of the Gregorian reform movement, the project of monasticizing the Church that had been initiated by Gregory VII during the eleventh century. But its more urgent context was the aftermath of a schism, which had seen two competing popes staking their claims since 1130. The deeds of that council are, consequently, reforming. They target particular locations of error, beginning with the mandating of sanctions against corrupt clergy. Lateran II then moves on to prohibit sins in the world, such as usury and tournaments. The constitutions also lay out details as to the observation of the *treuga dei*, the Truce of God. The *treuga dei* was the Church's attempt to lead peace-making practices within Europe, particularly in relation to warfare between knights. Lateran II, then, was concerned with the internal affairs of Christendom, as well as the internal management of the Church.

Lateran III of 1179 started with a discussion of the practice of papal election. The text reads:

Although clear enough decrees have been handed down by our predecessors to avoid dissension in the choice of a sovereign pontiff, nevertheless in spite of these, because through wicked and reckless ambition the church has often suffered serious division, we too, in order to avoid this evil, on the advice of our brethren and with the approval of the sacred council, have decided that some addition must be made.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Translation from *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. by Tanner, p. 230. The Latin text of the council proceedings is taken from 'Concilium Lateranense IV 1215', here p. 163: 'Firmiter credimus et simpliciter confitemur quod unus solus est verus Deus, eternus, immensus, omnipotens, incommutabilis, incomprehensibilis et ineffabilis, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, tres quidem personae sed una esentia, substantia, seu natura simplex omnino'.

<sup>13</sup> Trans. from *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. by Tanner, p. 211. 'Concilium Lateranense III 1179', p. 127: 'Licet de vitanda discordia in electione romani pontificis manifesta satis a praedecessoribus nostris constituta manaverint, quia tamen saepe post illa per improbae ambitionis audaciam gravem passa est scissuram ecclesia, nos etiam ad

Like the inaugurating statement of Lateran II, the language of Lateran III also suggested a Church in a state of profound division, reflecting another schism that had dominated papal politics, this time over the previous twenty years. Since 1158 Pope Alexander III had been defending the legitimacy of his election against claims made by supporters of the other candidate, known as Victor IV. Like Lateran II, Lateran III mostly concerned itself with the management of clerical behaviour, declaring vigorous injunctions against clerical corruption and vice. Where it did depart from Lateran II, and in some ways anticipating Lateran IV, Lateran III declared that Christians could not function as the servants of Jews and Saracens. In that particular constitution we see something of the Church articulating itself against difference. But, overall, it is fair to characterize the constitutions of Lateran II and Lateran III as mostly concerned with negotiating internal problems within the Church.

Lateran IV, of course, reprises many of these issues as well. There is a strong focus on clerical deportment and probity. There are a number of constitutions that focus upon details of pastoral practice and governance that seem to be relatively small in scope, particularly those that pertain to clerical integrity. Lateran IV is certainly concerned with housekeeping, in a way that mimics the councils that preceded it. But in their framing, however, the Council's constitutions are a set apart. The *credo* with which the text of the Council begins inaugurates a proud 'we' that is the Church, constructed as resolute and united. The text begins with a stream of third person plurals, emphatic and totalizing, evincing a determination to reify the Church as a united thing. The constitutions of Lateran IV attempt to speak a universal and totalizing Church into existence. And it does so, as I have argued elsewhere, partially through the language of what we might call academic theology.<sup>14</sup> That is, Lateran IV frames the mission of the Council, and its pastoral commitments, through the abstraction of language generated through nascent scholastic theology. It was not so much that Lateran IV omnipotently and teleologically laid down a machinery of persecution, as the aforementioned historians have suggested. Rather, in what follows, I want to argue that Lateran IV imagined a Church, with a capital C, who might at some point have the machinery of its universalizing fantasies. Lateran IV does not represent the apex of the apparatus. Rather, it registers one founding moment of the institutional self-fashioning that characterized the ambitious Church of the high Middle Ages.

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malum hoc evitandum, de consilio fratrum nostrorum et sacri approbatione concilii aliquid decrevimus adiungendum'.

<sup>14</sup> See Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse* and Monagle, 'Theology, Practice and Policy at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century'.

## Was There Really ‘a Church’?

Gary Macy has suggested that when we think of the medieval Church as monolithic, or hegemonic, or authoritarian, we are falling captive to constructions of Catholicism that developed during the Reformation and were insistently reinforced as part of the anti-clericalism of the Enlightenment. He has written:

Scholarly works on the Middle Ages frequently enough mention ‘the Church in the Middle Ages’, or ‘the teaching of the Church in the Middle Ages’ without further specification, as if the reader could immediately identify the institution to which the author is referring [...]. Yet when one tries actually to establish some agreement among medieval sources as to what constituted ‘the Church’ or even some agreement as to the criteria by which one could recognize a ‘the Church’, the ‘the Church’ which ought to be so solid seems to disappear into a thousand disparate factions.<sup>15</sup>

As Macy has it, there is little evidence for a coherent and top-down bureaucratic Church, the stuff of Tridentine-generated fantasies, be they positive on the part of Catholics or negative on the part of Protestants. Rather, he argues that, for the most part, the medieval Church was ‘more often a muddle than a monolith’, and that this should be held in mind when thinking about events such as Lateran IV. The constitutions of Lateran IV talk, as it were, a big game. But that is not to say that they were necessarily implemented, or enforced, with consistency across space and time. Scholarly work that has taken the implementation of Lateran IV as its object has revealed asymmetrical processes of dissemination of the Council’s core ideas, as well as vast discrepancies in compliance.

Macy discusses, particularly, the take-up of the term ‘transubstantiation’, which was named in the statutes of Lateran IV to describe the changes to the bread and wine that happen as a result of consecration. As he has recounted elsewhere, this new theological term was deployed to resolve significant conflict that had taken place as to how best to understand the consequences of the *Hoc Est Corpus Meum*, the moment when the priest holds aloft the host and declares ‘This is my Body’.<sup>16</sup> From the debates that circled around Berengar of Tours in the eleventh century, there had been significant tension around what constituted the best language to describe the sacrament’s operation. While such arguments might seem like merely academic issues to our contemporary eyes, as the cases of Berengar, Abelard, and Gilbert of Poitiers testified, these doctrinal disputes were fraught, politicized, and could result in compromised careers for the participants. It was surely hoped, then, that endorsing a term such as ‘transubstantiation’ in the official accounts of Lateran IV would quell dissent on that particular point of doctrine. But what seems to have

<sup>15</sup> Macy, ‘Was There a “the Church” in the Middle Ages?’, p. 107.

<sup>16</sup> Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom*.

been the case was the opposite. Macy reveals strong disagreement among the generations of scholars that follow Lateran IV as to the metaphysical and material meaning of the Eucharistic situation. Lateran IV does not, in short, seem to have settled the matter. Instead, scholars in the universities continue the patterns established in the twelfth century of deploying dialectical reasoning in order to push theological language and transform interpretative paradigms. Rather than being static and stable, elite theology was creative, disruptive, and controversial. In licensing transubstantiation, Lateran IV gave impetus to the deployment of the concept, rather than enforcing its utilization across the board.

Anthony Perron, when surveying the historiography pertaining to the implementation and impact of Lateran IV has noted 'the almost uniformly pessimistic evaluations of Innocent's great program in the various corners of Europe'.<sup>17</sup> Peter Linehan, writing in 1971, described the bumbling efforts of the papal legate John of Abbeville to convince the Spanish episcopate to take heed of Lateran IV's injunctions. Linehan suggested that reforming ambitions of Innocent III and his legates were no match for the entrenched local forms of aristocratic power deployed by the Spanish clergy.<sup>18</sup> This clergy all too often depended on a symbiotic relationship with local monarchs, splitting their sovereign alliances between spiritual and temporal powers. Similarly, Paul P. Pixton wrote regarding the example of Germany that,

The specific example of medieval Germany, however, demonstrates that despite such claims of *plenitudo potestatis*, deep-seated changes in the thought and action of the clergy had to be more than mere 'legislated morality'. Without an inner commitment to the principles articulated at the Fourth Lateranum, the German church of 1245 was not fundamentally different from that of 1200 or even 1500.<sup>19</sup>

Both Linehan and Pixton caution against accepting the universalizing claims of Lateran IV at face value, demonstrating that in myriad places across Christendom its reception was mediated through local interests, often profoundly invested in practices of simony and concubinage that the papacy was seeking to abolish.

Helen Birkett has revealed a different, although no less patchy, promulgation of Lateran IV in the north of England. She notes that local statutes emanating from the Council emphasized issues of clerical continence and reform, as well as the pastoral demands of Lateran IV. She describes a great deal of local statutes that insist upon the spiritual and bodily purity of those called to the *care of the soul/cura animarum*, thus relating the integrity of the pastor to the quality of the spiritual services he is able to provide. In that sense, these northern English statutes would seem to offer a more faithful rendition of

<sup>17</sup> Perron, 'Metropolitan Might and Papal Power on the Latin-Christian Frontier', p. 183.

<sup>18</sup> Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy*.

<sup>19</sup> Pixton, *The German Episcopacy*, p. xv.

the Council's agenda than seem to have occurred on continental Europe. But, having said that, Birkett points out that these same statutes that so amplify the pastoral also ignore other key aspects of the Council's programme. In the statutes considered by Birkett, there was no take-up of the decrees pertaining to heretics or Jews.<sup>20</sup> To our eyes this is a striking omission, given the enduring adhesion of the idea of the 'persecuting society' to Lateran IV.

In the situation of clerical education, however, both Birkett and Pixton note evidence of compliance with Canon 11 of Lateran IV, which renewed the injunction of Lateran III that each cathedral church should provide a *magister* who could provide free instruction to clerics and other poor students. Canon 11 noted that this provision had not been made universally, that 'in many churches this is not observed'. Deploying prosopographical analysis, Pixton revealed an increase in German churches that could be identified as supporting a *magister* subsequent to Lateran IV.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, Birkett argues that the significant increase in the number of schools operating in England, which takes place particularly after 1250, is a consequence of the educational reforms of Lateran IV, coupled with the pastoral agenda of the Council to promote a more educated, functional clergy. And finally, cautiously, Igor Razum, in his study of the impact of Lateran IV in Eastern Europe, has argued for a similar increase in embedded *magistri* in that region. Or, at least, he has identified an increase in papal correspondence that refers to particular *magistri* after 1215, in letters sent to the bishops working in the kingdoms of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. Razum notes, however, that the take-up of Lateran IV in Eastern Europe differs in a number of ways from the areas covered by Linehan, Birkett, and Pixton. Razum argues that Eastern Europe's perceived status as a frontier of Christendom meant that local authorities were particularly interested in issues raised by Lateran IV pertaining to heresy and to crusading.<sup>22</sup>

## Watershed or Not?

What we are left with, then, in this survey is evidence as to the varying ways Lateran IV was interpreted locally, as well as the important role played by ecclesiastical authorities when it came to implementation. While papal legates had been crucial actors in the processes that led up to Lateran IV, it seems that after the Council their influence waned when it came to enforcement. In the aftermath of the Council, much of the work went to bishops. It is tempting, particularly in regards to the Spanish example outlined by Linehan, to draw a sharp line between the reformist papacy and the entrenched interests of regional bishops. However, Anthony Perron's analysis of the Danish church at

<sup>20</sup> Birkett, 'The Pastoral Application of the Lateran IV Reforms in the Northern Province', pp. 209–11.

<sup>21</sup> Pixton, 'Pope Innocent III and the German Schools'.

<sup>22</sup> Razum, 'Tradition and Reform'.

the time of Lateran IV reveals a more complicated picture. Perron shows how Lateran IV afforded the Danish clergy the opportunity to build relationships with the papacy, and to build relationships across Christendom. Over the twelfth century, and into the thirteenth, the archbishop of Lund had functioned something like the 'papally favored chief of a frontier church'.<sup>23</sup> The men who were in this role tended to have strong royal connections and wield strong provincial influence. The dominance of the see of Lund, most famously led by Anders Sunesen, however, was changing around the time of Lateran IV. Increasing numbers of Danish clerics were studying in the schools of Paris, availing themselves of theological training in the polyglot environment of the nascent university. This gave these men, according to Perron, the intellectual and relational means to negotiate with *curia* themselves on issues of importance, rather than depending on Lund to mediate for them. Moreover, and more particularly, Perron reveals that the processes around Lateran IV — before, during, and afterwards — enabled Danish clerics to take part in consultative processes and build intellectual capital. As Perron writes, 'A diocesan church once closely subject to its eminent archbishop could now directly engage apostolic power and escape Anders Sunesen'.<sup>24</sup> Perron's account of the Danish church at the time of Lateran IV suggests that the impact of Lateran IV went well beyond the legislation issued by that conference. Rather, his analysis encourages us to think about Lateran IV as a process of institutional reform that forged different relationships and lines of alliance.

Taken in isolation, as the examples above show, it is hard to see the 'watershed' of Lateran IV, the move that Peter Biller referred to as '1215 and all that'.<sup>25</sup> Our commonplace idea of a rejuvenated papacy expounding and enforcing policy across Christendom and producing a machine of persecution seems somewhat overblown. But as the example of the Danish church shows, as explored by Perron, Lateran IV was not just about legislation. Rather, the processes involved in preparing for the conference, as well as the meeting itself, and not to mention negotiations over implementation, licensed different forms of authority, and opened up different channels of communication. The impact of Lateran IV should not just be assessed on the basis of clear legislative influence on pastoral life, although that is of course very important. Lateran IV also suggested the necessity of new ways of knowing and believing, on the part of both clergy and lay. As we shall see, the framing language of Lateran IV, that of a bold *credo*, insisted on the relationship between knowledge and assent, between theology and faith. Over the past ten years or so, scholars have paid particular heed to the unprecedented role played by scholastic theology in the framing of Lateran IV. Peter Lombard's appearance in the second constitution of that Council, and the concomitant defence of his Trinitarian theology, asserted the legitimacy of academic theology as a

<sup>23</sup> Perron, 'Metropolitan Might and Papal Power on the Latin-Christian Frontier', pp. 199–200.

<sup>24</sup> Perron, 'Metropolitan Might and Papal Power on the Latin-Christian Frontier', p. 197.

<sup>25</sup> Biller, 'Confession in the Middle Ages', p. 30.

maker of orthodoxy of the highest order. Rather than relying on a patristic *auctoritas*, the council was endorsing a contemporary thinker, dead only a little over fifty years. It might seem surprising that scholars have only just focused upon the importance of the figure of Peter Lombard to the project of Lateran IV; however, it is important to remember that until Marcia Colish published her epochal *Peter Lombard* in 1994, the theologian's work had been little studied in comparison to his twelfth-century counterparts such as Peter Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>26</sup>

The recent work on Lombard has revealed his centrality, as a foundational thinker, to the pastoral and bureaucratic ambitions of the schoolmen who emerged from the schools at the end of the twelfth century, most famously described by John Baldwin as 'Peter the Chanter and his Circle'.<sup>27</sup> In the period after 1160, the *Sentences* had come to dominate the emerging curriculum at Paris. A number of scholars, working in Lombard's wake, had developed commentaries on the *Sentences*, explaining the framework of the text's ideas to students and producing glossing metaphors to explain the multivalent qualities of the text. There is not time in this chapter to go into the minutiae of Lombard's theology and/or the immediate reception of his work. I have dwelt, as have others, on these issues at length in other places.<sup>28</sup> It suffices to say here, I want to suggest, that the speedy acceptance of Lombard's textbook as the textbook testified to its useability, utility, and, most crucially, its teachability. For example, when explaining the importance of Lombard's *Sentences*, Peter Comestor described the vast intellectual inheritance with which theologians had to grapple in his own time. Comestor suggested that Peter Lombard was able to prune the overgrown garden of Christian thought. Writing between 1165 and 1170, he said that 'Master [Peter Lombard], seeing that the boundaries had now grown up into huge trees, in order to prepare an easier ingress for us, as if brushing aside some little branches on the way, collected this brief work from many sources'.<sup>29</sup> That is, Comestor suggested that the accretion of biblical, contemporary, and scholastic *auctoritates* necessitated the synthetic approach of the *Sentences*, which provided a compendium of orthodox doctrine, as well as modelling the dialectical theological reasoning that was the innovation of

<sup>26</sup> Colish, *Peter Lombard*.

<sup>27</sup> John W. Baldwin has published extensively on Peter the Chanter, his influence upon his disciples, and their impact both within the schools and outside. See his *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 'Paris et Rome en 1215', 'The Intellectual Preparation for the Canon of 1215 against Ordeals', and 'Master Stephen Langton, Future Archbishop of Canterbury'.

<sup>28</sup> See Mews and Monagle, 'Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore, and the Fourth Lateran Council', and Colish, *Peter Lombard*, Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, and Harkins, 'Filiae Magistri'.

<sup>29</sup> R. M. Martin collected and edited the surviving extracts of Peter Comestor's gloss on the *Sententiae* in his 'Notes sur l'oeuvre littéraire de Pierre le Mangeur', here p. 61: 'Propter hec tria genera hominum. Magister videns terminos illos iam in magnas arbores excrevisse, ut faciliorem ac [...] incessum nobis preparet, quasi quosdam ramusculos in via prosternens, hoc breve opus de multis colligit'; trans. by Spatz in 'Approaches and Attitudes to a New Theology Textbook', p. 35.

the first half of the twelfth century, as expressed most famously in the work of Abelard, Hugh of St Victor, and Gilbert of Poitiers.<sup>30</sup>

And so, in the endorsement of Lombard at Lateran IV, we see something unprecedented. Following the bold *credo*, the constitutions move briskly to the defence of Lombard's orthodoxy. And these two framing constitutions are the prism through which we can encounter what follows in the language of the Council. For, as Andrew Reeves has argued, Canons 1 and 2 are not only a statement of faith and an endorsement of Lombard, taken together they represent a new papal approach to notions of the relationship between faith and reason, revealing an insistence that the believer not only believe, but understand what and why they believe. The deployment of transubstantiation offers a case in point. Leaving aside the contested nature of the term, it was a striking move to place a neologism within the frame of *credo*, a genre that aspires to universal normativity. The *credo* should declare the fundamentals of the faith, the essence of the belief. The Council put transubstantiation within that normative frame, and in so doing made a claim for the centrality and necessity of technical theological language to the articulation of faith. For, in naming *transubstantio*, the Council reified the concept's legitimacy, as the best way to name the process that takes place during the Eucharist. Transubstantiation is not the thing itself, it is not the mystery of the bread and wine. Transubstantiation is the name for the process, the most rigorous word that could be found to hint at the mystical event. This might seem like a fine distinction, that between the thing itself and the word that signifies this thing, the very definition of scholastic obscurantism in fact. But it is a distinction that matters because it signals the papacy authorizing a relatively new, and always imperfect, discourse as a way to broker the distance between man and God.

The divide between systematic and pastoral theology is a commonplace in our field, but what we see at Lateran IV are the ways that the pastoral and the scholastic are mutually constitutive, if not inseparable. They enable each other. The statement of faith that inaugurates the Council insists upon the necessity of creative theology to make sense of Christian doctrine. The endorsement of Peter Lombard, against Joachim of Fiore, similarly reveals an insistence on the necessity of evolving human reason to describe and explain sacred mystery. Joachim had, apparently, charged Peter Lombard's *Sentences* with explaining the Trinity as a quaternity. Lombard had insisted that while the Trinity was defined by the absolute individuality of the three persons, it was also necessary that we be able to name that which unites the three persons. To do so, he deployed the concept of *una quaedam summa res*, 'a certain highest thing', to describe the unity of the Trinity.<sup>31</sup> The council recounts that Joachim had argued that the one-ness of the Trinity could only

<sup>30</sup> See Clark, 'Peter Comestor and Peter Lombard'.

<sup>31</sup> 'Concilium Lateranense IV 1215', p. 165.

be understood analogously or collectively. In making these arguments Joachim was asserting the primacy of mystical apprehension of mystery, rather than a structured cognitive approach to demarcating the limits and boundaries of the mystery. The Council was unequivocal in its endorsement of Lombard's position against Joachim's allegations, confessing *cum petro* as to the reality that Lombard had insisted united the Trinity. In so doing, they confessed as to a method as well as a point of doctrine.

By method, however, I am not suggesting that the Council endorsed scholastic theology writ large. As we have canvassed above, scholastic theology was, and continued to be, as contested and fraught as it was bold and elite. This would continue to be the case well after the events of Lateran IV. Rather, the method to which I refer is perhaps better described as the logic of the schools of Paris, the insistence of *Sprachlogik* as an appropriate mode to approach the divine. *Sprachlogik*, a term most famously deployed by Grabmann, describes a conviction as to the relationship between semantics, logic, and theology.<sup>32</sup> For twelfth-century theologians, particularly, the study of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric was never only about language, in a bounded human sense. Rather, human language was God-given, as well as constitutive of human society. In the beginning was the word. Yes, language was contingent, timorous, and fragile. Language was unable to reckon with God's perfection and totality. At the same time, language was the mode through which Christian thought occurred, and a core site where humanity intersected with divinity via the *logos*. Human language was thus a bridge between God and Man, as well as a register of the gulf between them. Twelfth-century theologians such as Abelard, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Peter Lombard danced in that space; they attempted to let the structures of language reveal divine truths. Or, to put it another way, they attempted to interrogate the possibilities and limitations of language to demarcate the borders of what could be legitimately apprehended and articulated about God, without heresy or error.

Subsequent generations of schoolmen, men such as Peter the Chanter, Stephen Langton, and Robert of Courçon, negotiated the implications of this *Sprachlogik*. Their work has all too often been described as pastoral theology because much of their intellectual energy was devoted to the idea that faith and language were relational and interdependent. So, they were implicitly pastoral, in that a number of these theologians working at the turn of the thirteenth century wanted to ascertain what this meant for the Christian believer. If an appropriate use of language is necessary to the operations of the faith, then it behoved theologians to think about how to generate the appropriate theological literacy among the faithful. In this sense, the seeming tension between the high theology of Lateran IV and its raft of behavioural regulations, pertaining to the clergy and laity, is not a tension at all. Rather, the logic of Lateran IV was to insist upon the inextricability of right speech, right

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<sup>32</sup> Grabmann, 'Die Entwicklung der mitteralterlichen Sprachlogik', p. 115.

deportment, and right inner life. Or, as Andrew Reeves has it, 'the dogmatic and the moral function in tandem'.<sup>33</sup>

When we think about the overall logic of Lateran IV we can reconcile the two versions of Lateran IV that I have identified as dominating the historiography. From the ground, Lateran IV looks to have been patchy in its implementation, and its reception to have been very mixed across Christendom. The council may have had aspirations to create a machine of management of Christian subjects and to institute sacramental conformity. But it does not seem to have done so. On the other hand, however, the council created a nexus between correct thinking and practice. That is, the combination of the Creed, Peter Lombard, and the insistence on clerical constancy made the argument as to the necessary interrelationship between doctrine and embodied spiritual life. Lateran IV did not wave a magic wand and instantiate the confessing subject in the West. But its constitutions did propose the relationality of inner life, intellectual life, and the corporeal. Lateran IV did this in a way that was unprecedented, envisioning a Christendom whose body and mind was wholly holy, but reasonable as well. To make sense of Lateran IV we need to combine these historiographies, not in order to reify the event as a 'watershed', but to encounter how an event could be fragmented and hegemonic in the same confusing instance.

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<sup>33</sup> Reeves, 'Teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith in England', p. 46.

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## Stephen Langton, Joachim of Fiore, and Trinitarian Thought at Lateran IV

*In memoriam* Riccardo Quinto (1961–2014)

Among church councils Lateran IV is unique in naming a specific theologian, Peter Lombard, as an index of orthodoxy. Condemning Joachim of Fiore's attack on the Lombard's Trinitarian theology and rejecting as heretical Joachim's own alternative, the Council's Canon 2 has drawn much comment from scholars eager to acquit the Calabrian abbot. Joachim was misunderstood, they claim, a traditional monastic thinker who ran afoul of the Lombard's scholasticism. Other scholars assess Canon 2 in terms of the scholasticism in play a century after the Lombard's death. This essay argues that the scholasticism pertinent to Canon 2 is neither the scholasticism of c. 1150 nor that of c. 1250, but the scholasticism of c. 1200. The leading Paris master of the day was Stephen Langton. Pope Innocent III recognized that fact in 1206. He made Langton a cardinal and invited him to offer a course on theology in Rome updating his circle on the state of the art. Langton's course presented a series of *quaestiones* framed as a commentary on the Lombard's *Sentences*. Book iv was incomplete when his vexed appointment as archbishop of Canterbury in 1207 occasioned his departure from Rome and his six-year exclusion from England by King John. As his commentary demonstrates, Langton fully understood Joachim's anti-Lombard argument, anatomizing what he saw as its flaws in terms of the semantic theory taught in Paris in his day, to which he was a salient contributor. While a critical edition of Langton's commentary on the *Sentences* has been in print since 1952, it has not been given close analysis in connection with Canon 2. The clear parallels that exist between these texts suggest that Langton's teaching on the Trinity in that work is the source most likely to have informed the language and underlying rationale of Lateran IV's Canon 2.

Joachim made it easy for interested parties to acquaint themselves with his distinctive views on the Trinity, including the anti-Lombard argument

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found most fully in his *Psalterium decem chordarum*. In the early thirteenth century these interested parties included not just the Paris scholastics but also Pope Innocent III and the clerics he charged with drafting the wording of Canon 2, men who saw themselves as the guardians and defenders of Western Christian orthodoxy. They had direct access to Joachim's Trinitarian thought in Rome; before his death in 1202 he had deposited final copies of his major works in the papal library. The perspective brought to Joachim's *Psalterium* by these readers, and the red flags it raised for them, are highlighted in the account given below.

Joachim first drafted the *Psalterium* and other major works between 1182 and 1185 at the Cistercian abbey of Casamari, whose hospitality to Joachim included the use of its library, its scriptorium, and its learned brethren as amanuenses.<sup>34</sup> Located on the Via Latina at the southern border of the Papal States, Casamari possessed one of the greatest Cistercian libraries of the late twelfth century. Joachim's internal references in the *Psalterium* supplement the modern reconstruction of Casamari's library catalogues in establishing his sources. Unsurprisingly, the Lombard's *Sentences* is on the list. Bernard of Clairvaux had been an early supporter of Peter Lombard, and two of the earliest extant copies of the *Sentences* come from Clairvaux and Cîteaux. Since Casamari had entered the Cistercian Order as a daughter-house of Cîteaux, the Cîteaux manuscript of the *Sentences* was the likely exemplar of the copy made at Casamari used by Joachim. Although this Casamari copy has not been found, or is no longer extant, its exemplar, now MS 198 of the Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon, presents a full and accurate reading of the text at issue. Nor is it surprising to find Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and *De trinitate* among Joachim's sources.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The best recent treatments of Joachim's biography are Picasso, 'Gioacchino e i cistercensi'; McGinn, 'Joachim of Fiore and the Twelfth-Century Papacy'; and Gatto, 'The Life and Works of Joachim of Fiore'. Scholars who note, correctly, that it was Joachim's anti-Lombard argument and not his other teachings that were at issue at Lateran IV include Grundmann, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, with a review of earlier literature at pp. 51–56; DiNapoli, 'Gioacchino da Fiore e Pietro Lombardo', pp. 624–29; McGinn, 'Gioacchino da Fiore nella storia della cultura europea', p. 29; and Gemeinhardt, 'Joachim the Theologian', pp. 41, 43, 77–81. The text used in this paper is Joachim von Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum*, ed. by Selge, pp. xxiii–xxv for the dating of Joachim's works and their deposit in the papal library.

<sup>35</sup> On the date and circumstances of Casamari's entry into the Cistercian Order, see Farina and Fornari, *Storia e documenti dell'abbazia di Casamari*, pp. 80–89. On Casamari's library, the Cîteaux MS of the *Sentences* as the likely exemplar of its copy, other texts in this library with a French connection, and the services the abbey provided to Joachim, see Adorisio, *Dinamiche librerie cistercensi*, pp. 13, 14, 28–32, 48–49, 50, 61; Vona, 'L'abbazia di Casamari al tempo di Gioacchino da Fiore', pp. 39–44. My thanks to Mme Mathilde Simeant of the Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon for verifying that its MS 198, fol. 3', presents a fully accurate statement of the passage Joachim disputed, corresponding verbatim with the text of Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, I.d.c.1–4, ed. by Brady, i, p. 56. On Bernard of Clairvaux's role in Peter Lombard's career and Clairvaux's copy of the *Sentences* (now Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 286, formerly 960) illustrated in the frontispiece, see Colish, *Peter Lombard*, i, pp. 15–23,

The passage from Book i of the *Sentences* which Joachim attacks, now numbered d.1.c.1–4, contains the Lombard's verbatim quotation from the *De doctrina christiana*, whose author and work he expressly cites as his source. Joachim acknowledges neither the explicit Augustinian origin of this passage nor the point the Lombard is making when he quotes it. To attentive readers conversant with Augustine's work and able to compare Joachim's text with that of the Lombard, it seemed evident that the abbot had misconstrued the Lombard's actual use of this citation and had also ignored the sense originally given to it by Augustine. This was not the only aspect of the *Psalterium* to evoke their misgivings.

The first aspect of the *Psalterium* to prompt those misgivings was Joachim's prefatory *captatio benevolentiae*.<sup>36</sup> He confides to the reader that his approach to the Trinity in this work was vouchsafed to him during private prayer on Pentecost Sunday. The Holy Spirit revealed that he should use the triangular psaltery, the instrument with which King David accompanied the Psalms, as the template for this doctrine. As Joachim presents it, this personal religious experience exempted him from ordinary research methods, granting him prophetic authority by special revelation, a claim that also reads as auto-hagiography.

While Joachim's defenders urge us to take seriously his self-proclaimed divine inspiration, they also present him as a theologian in the mainstream. Joachim's strongly visual imagination led him to illustrate his ideas with *figurae*. For some commentators, his chief Trinitarian *figura* in the *Psalterium* bespeaks his traditionalism.<sup>37</sup> Both monastic and scholastic authors in the twelfth century designed illustrations to accompany their texts; Innocent III's own treatise on the Mass was redacted with numerous diagrams. Although Augustine specifically rejected the triangle as a suitable image of the Trinity because of its use by heretics, it was so employed in the twelfth century.<sup>38</sup> The

25; additional discussion is provided in Peter Lombard, *The Sentences*, trans. by Silano, i, pp. ix–xi, and Doyle, *Peter Lombard and his Students*, pp. 13–14, 20, 26–30, 32–35, 37–39. On Casamari's location and the general Cistercian policy of providing a 'starter kit' of books and continuing to donate and lend them to monasteries new to the order, see Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe*, pp. 32, 210–15. For the texts referenced by Joachim in the *Psalterium*, see the detailed register in Joachim von Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum*, ed. by Selge, pp. 370–73.

36 Joachim von Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum*, praefatio, ed. by Selge, pp. 6–11, with more on the triangular shape of David's instrument at *Psalterium*, i. 1, pp. 16, 29–32. Scholars who note the problematic features of this *figura* include Obrist, 'La figure géométrique dans l'oeuvre de Joachim de Flore', p. 301; Tavard, *The Contemplative Church*, pp. 18–21, 23–27; Dreyer, 'Reflection on Belief or Discursive Science of Belief', pp. 36, 41.

37 Leading the field on this point are Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, pp. 38, 39, 47, 49–51, 56–57, 69, 73, 199–201, 207, 209, 221–23; see also Honée, 'Joachim of Fiore', pp. 103–12, 117–19, 135; McGinn, 'Theologians as Trinitarian Iconographers', pp. 192–95; McGinn, 'Gioacchino da Fiore nella storia della cultura europea', pp. 27–28; Mainini, *Disegni dei tempi*; Staglianò, 'La dottrina trinitaria di Gioacchino da Fiore'; Honée, 'Symbolik und Kontext von Joachim von Fiore's "antilombardischen Figuren"'.

38 On the medieval disinclination to follow Augustine on the triangle, see Devriendt, 'Du

most widespread triangular *figura* of the Trinity was that of Petrus Alfonsi, an Aragonese Jew who converted to Christianity in 1106 and whose *Dialogus contra Iudeos* defends his new faith. In Alfonsi's account, the name of God imparted to Moses in Exodus 3. 14, rendered as IEVE, makes up three digraphs, IE, EV, and VE, which denote the Trinity. Alfonsi depicts this Trinity as an inverted pyramid with three lobes. He labels its bottom lobe IE, its right-hand lobe VE, and its left-hand lobe EV. He inscribes IEVE in the centre of his lobed triangle.<sup>39</sup>

triangle au Psaltérion', pp. 188–93, and Boespflug, 'Un trahison d'Augustin?', pp. 307, 313–14; for other predecessors of Joachim, see Schmitt, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un diagramme?' and Powell, 'Paradisum speculatorum in picturam ponere'. For some notable monastic designers of images that accompanied their texts, see Caviness, 'Hildegard as Designer of the Illustrations in Her Works' and McGinn, 'Theologians as Trinitarian Iconographers', pp. 187–89; on Herrad of Landsberg's illustrated texts, see Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*, pp. 108–33, 178–93, and Heinzer, 'Diagrammatische Aspekte im "Hortus Deliciarum" Herrads von Hohenburg'. For some scholastic practitioners, see the reconstruction of the image associated with Hugh of St Victor's *Mystical Ark* by Rudolph, *The Mystical Ark*. Rudolph's extended debates with Sicard, *Diagrammes médiévaux et exégèse visuelle* on whether it was made before, during, or after Hugh's lectures on the text and whether it was a mural or a wall-hanging do not concern us here. On Hugh as a possible source for Joachim, see Obrist, 'La figure géométrique dans l'œuvre de Joachim de Flore', pp. 299–300. On Peter of Poitiers's use of wall-hangings to illustrate his biblical *Compendium historiae* and diagrams in his *Sententiae*, see Peter of Poitiers, *Sententiae*, ed. by Moore and Dulong, p. xxi; Wurm, 'Visualizing the Order of History', pp. 249–61; Šmahel, 'Das *Scutum fidei christiana*', p. 190, who notes that the inverted pyramid of Peter of Poitiers typifies the uses of that image prior to Joachim. On Peter the Chanter's use of the image-text combination, see Trexler, 'Legitimizing Prayer Gestures in the Twelfth Century'; Trexler, *The Christian at Prayer*. An early MS of Innocent's work on the Mass (1195/97), redacted 1200/1210 (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt-Gotha, Cod. Memb. I 123), contains forty-two geometric diagrams, mostly based on the circle; see Hamburger, *Haec figura demonstrat*, pp. 16, 22–43. As Hamburger notes at p. 40, 'Obwohl es nicht unvorstellbar ist, dass Lothar nicht selbst an den Diagramme beteiligt war, scheinen sie einen Zusatz zu einem Werk, wie er konzipierte und eine frühe, prägende Phase in dessen Rezeption darzustellen'. For an English version of this study, see Hamburger, 'Haec figura demonstrat: Diagrams'; as Hamburger notes at p. 14, the images 'either formed part of its original apparatus or were combined with the full text at a very early date'. I am indebted to Prof. Hamburger for this reference and for those in the *Diagramme und Text* collection cited above.

39 Petrus Alfonsi, *Diálogo contra los judíos*, ed. by Mieth, trans. by Ducay, pp. 107–12 on the plural names of God, and pp. 110–13 on the Tetragrammaton, with the diagram at pp. 111 and 113. The best guide to this figure is John Tolan's introduction in *Diálogo*, pp. ix–xxxii, xl–lii, and more fully in Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers*, pp. xiv–xv, 9–11, 14, 36–39, with discussion of extant manuscripts at pp. 95, 98, 99–102. The most recent study of the manuscripts, now known to number seventy-six, is Cardelle de Hartmann, Senekovic, and Ziegler, 'Modes of Variability'. For Alfonsi's place in Jewish–Christian debate, see Abulafia, 'The Bible in Jewish–Christian Dialogue', p. 620. On Alfonsi's triangle as a source for Joachim, see Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, pp. 222–23; Robb, 'Did Innocent III Personally Condemn Joachim of Fiore?', pp. 84, 86; Robb, 'Joachimist Exegesis', pp. 146, 148; Paolini, 'La disputa sulla Trinità', pp. 639–40; Potestà, 'Geschichte als Ordnung in der Diagrammatik Joachims von Fiore', pp. 124–28; Patschovsky, 'Die Trinitätsdiagramme Joachims von Fiore', pp. 83–85; Šmahel, 'Das *Scutum fidei christiana*', pp. 188–89. As Šmahel notes at p. 189,

While some of these predecessors, especially Alfonsi, are cited as his models, Joachim's Trinitarian triangle is his own. Joachim inscribes the Tetragrammaton in the middle of three concentric circles placed inside his triangle. Instead of an inverted pyramid, his *figura* is a pyramid resting on its base, with a truncated upper point. Joachim explains that this truncated upper point signifies God the Father as the source of the other Trinitarian persons.<sup>40</sup> Some medieval commentators questioned the adequacy of this explanation, and of the image itself, although their disquiet has not always been noted by modern scholars. A triangle with the Tetragrammaton encircled in its centre may suggest that there are two Trinities, or that the circular image signifies a fourth divine element along with those figured by the triangle's points. This triangle has other limits in light of Joachim's Trinitarian concerns. It cannot represent the *filioque*, a doctrine whose standard Latin position he elsewhere ardently defends. Moreover, its three points do not have the same shape. The triangle's truncated upper point may suggest that the Father is not co-equal with the Son and Holy Spirit,<sup>41</sup> despite the *Psalterium's* anti-heretical brief. Joachim's triangle is actually not a triangle at all but a trapezoid, a four-sided figure.<sup>42</sup> Ironically, as some of his thirteenth-century critics observed, and as some modern scholars have noted, while Joachim claimed that the Lombard taught a quaternity in the Trinity, his own trapezoidal *figura* lays him open to precisely that charge.

But before the *Psalterium* gets to Peter Lombard Joachim has much to say on the Trinity itself. The first of the work's two main books lists groups of creatures that yield what Joachim regards, with good warrant, as defective analogies of the Trinity. These include material elements, pieces of wood

Petrus Alfonsi's triangle was also known and depicted in a manuscript of Innocent's letter of December 1203 to Jean Bellesmains, archbishop of Lyon; see Innocent III, *Die Register*, ed. by Hageneder and others, vi, p. 323 and plate 3. In 'Did Innocent III Personally Condemn Joachim of Fiore?', pp. 86–87, and 'Joachimist Exegesis', p. 148, Robb argues that Innocent got this idea and image directly or indirectly from Joachim, a view rejected by Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III als Theologe', pp. 108–13, and Šmahel, 'Das *Scutum fidei christiana*', p. 189. Given the wide availability of the Alfonsi manuscripts, the latter view is more likely.

<sup>40</sup> Joachim von Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum*, i. 4–5, ii. 2, 6, ed. by Selge, pp. 63–84, 343. Devriendt, 'Du triangle au Psaltérion', pp. 194–96, notes the departure from tradition in Joachim's inclusion of the encircled Tetragrammaton, the inversion of the pyramid, and the blunting of its upper point; neither he nor McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot*, p. 164, presents any of this as problematic.

<sup>41</sup> The *filioque* problem is noted by Patschovsky, 'Die Trinitätsdiagramme Joachims von Fiore', p. 86; Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, pp. 222–23, are rare among Joachim scholars in acknowledging these difficulties.

<sup>42</sup> Noted by Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, p. 56, and Obrist, 'La figure géométrique dans l'œuvre de Joachim de Flore', pp. 303–04, who also flags medieval criticisms of Joachim on this account at pp. 315, 317; Patschovsky, 'Die Trinitätsdiagramme Joachims von Fiore', p. 86; Dreyer, 'Reflection on Belief or Discursive Science of Belief', p. 34. The leading study of four-sided figures in Western Christian thought, Eismeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*, pp. 123–26, gives Joachim's *Psalterium* trapezoid pride of place.

or stone that make up a ship or a building, trees of different varieties, roots and branches of the same tree, and a trio of men who share the same human nature.<sup>43</sup> Joachim then turns to the one Trinitarian analogy which he supports, prefaced by semantic qualifications: The words *unus* and *unitas* have different meanings, he observes. *Unus* refers to a single individual, *unitas* to a property shared by at least two things. When the Bible exhorts us to remain in *unitas*, it refers to believers united in mind and heart (Acts 4. 32). Joachim then applies these rules to the Trinity: 'If we say that "*unus* is in that place", without adding who it is, "*unus*" can refer to a *collectione multorum*, as with one *populus* and one *plebs*. Thus, when we say "the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit", we dare not say "are one" unless "God" is added [...]. For he who says "the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one" [without that stipulation] is proved to be a supporter of the Sabellian heresy'.<sup>44</sup>

Despite Joachim's would-be semantic clarification, the language of his chosen Trinitarian analogy appeared as problematic as the analogy itself to readers schooled in the philosophy now in the toolkit of professional theologians. Also, schooled in the New Testament text, such readers knew that Acts 4. 32, to which Joachim alludes, is not an injunction but a description of the apostolic church. They were also aware that Joachim's assertion that Trinitarian persons are not properly said to be 'one' unless the speaker adds the word 'God' does not square with Christ's *Ego et Pater unum sumus* (John 10. 30). Further, as was common teaching at the time, they saw membership of individuals in a community of faith as voluntary. Such membership does not constitute or exhaust their beings or other commitments. And there was Joachim's use of *populus*. In twelfth-century Latin, beyond its generic meaning, *populus* had two senses, liturgical and political. Both senses were restricted.<sup>45</sup> The liturgical *populus* was deemed to comprise the men, women, and children who attended a ritual event, as contrasted with the clergy. The political *populus* was deemed to comprise those adult males who had a say in

43 Joachim von Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum*, i. 1, ed. by Selge, pp. 19–20.

44 Joachim von Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum*, i. 1, ed. by Selge, pp. 31–32: 'Aliud sonat "*unus*" aliud "*unitas*". "*Unus*" enim absolute dici nequit nisi de una persona. "*Unitas*" vero proprie dici non potest nisi de duobus ad minus. Neque enim cum iubemur consistere in unitate, ad singularem personam referri posse credendum est, sed ad *populum* ad conventum ad *plebem*. Cum enim dicitur absolute "*unus est hic aut illuc*", "non est in loco illo nisi *unus*", personam incunctate intelligo. Cum vero dicitur "*unitas est in loco illo*", profecto nichil aliud intelligimus quam multorum *cor unum et animam unam*, hoc est unam voluntatem et unum consensum. Si vero sic dicitur, "*unus est in loco illo*" ut protinus addatur quis, potest *unus* accipi de *collectione multorum*, ut *unus populus et una plebs*. Sic igitur, cum dicimus "*Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus*", non audemus dicere "*unus sunt*" nisi consequenter addatur "*Deus*" [...]. Qui autem dicit "*Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus unus sunt*" Sabelliane heresios asseverator efficitur'.

45 Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 324–25, 326, 329, 331, 345, 346, 415 for the liturgical *populus*; pp. 260–62, 266, 324–25, 326, 329, 331, 345, 346, 382–83, and 409–57 passim for the political *populus*; for more on the political *populus*, see Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, pp. 18, 23, 33, 34, 88, 90, 91, 123, 130, 132–35, 152, 153–55, 159, 168, 181, 182, 185.

political decisions, as contrasted with the *princeps* or *nobiles* on the one side and the voiceless poor on the other. Rather than manifesting unanimity, in real life the political *populus* often expressed partisanship or factionalism. Liturgical and political events took place whether or not individual members of the *populus* engaged in them. In terms of semantic theory, biblical language, and the *usus loquendi* of his time, Joachim's choice of words in the one Trinitarian analogy he supports made his analysis open to objection.

Strange to say, it is not in the context of Trinitarian language that Joachim levels his attack on the Lombard, but at the end of the *Psalterium*'s second book, which outlines his Trinitarian theology of history. Summarizing the errors of the Sabellians and Arians as his *envoi*, he denounces the Lombard's alleged four-substance Trinitarian theology as a failed effort to correct both heresies: 'And how perversely in all ways did he remedy both, who says that there is a single substance, a certain supreme thing, common to the three persons (*unam substantiam esse quandam summam rem communem tribus personis*) and that each person is that substance, [...] as if God were not a Trinity but a quaternity'.<sup>46</sup>

This misreading of the Lombard would have been easy to avoid. As the editor of the *Psalterium* notes, Joachim drew on passages from across Book i of the Lombard's *Sentences* and from Books i, v, vi, vii, xiv, and xv of Augustine's *De trinitate*.<sup>47</sup> In the passage Joachim flags, the Lombard specifically quotes and agrees with Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* on use and enjoyment; the triune God is the *res* to be enjoyed above all.<sup>48</sup> When the Lombard turns to theological language as applied to the Trinity, he stresses, with Augustine, that *essentia* is the term that best signifies the Godhead, as contrasted with terms denoting the properties of individual Trinitarian persons. The terms to be used for the latter refer to their eternal and immutable nature and interrelationships. While Latin theologians since the patristic period had recognized, perforce, that they could not abandon *substantia* in discussing the divine nature, or the nature of Christ, since that term is in the Creed, Augustine stresses that in

46 Joachim von Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum*, ed. by Selge, ii. 6, ed. by Selge, pp. 340–41: 'O quam prave psallebat Sabellius, [...] dicens: Una persona Deus est, pro velle suo Pater, pro velle Filius, pro velle Spiritus sanctus. O quam perverse organizabat Arius, [...] dicens: Pater maior est, Filius minor, Spiritus sanctus minimus et minister duorum [...]. O quam perverse modis omnibus emendavit utrumque, qui dixit *unam substantiam esse quandam summam rem communem tribus personis*, et singulam personam esse illam substantiam, [...] tanquam si non esset Deus Trinitas, sed quaternitas'.

47 Selge, register in Joachim von Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum*, ed. by Selge, at p. 370 for Joachim's Augustine citations and at p. 372 for his citations to the Lombard.

48 Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, I.d.1.c.2.1–4, repeated at I.d.1.c.3.11, ed. by Brady, i, pp. 56–57, 61; quotation at I.d.1.c.2.4, i, p. 56: 'De rebus quibus fruendum est. "Res igitur quibus fruendum est, sunt Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Eadem tamen Trinitas quaedam summa res est communisque omnibus fruentibus ea, si tamen res dici debet et non rerum omnium causa, si tamen et causa. Non enim facile potest inveniri nomen quod tantae excellentiae conveniat, nisi quod melius dicitur Trinitas haec unus Deus"'. This passage quotes Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* i. 1, 5, ed. by Martin and Daur, p. 9.

no respect should we think of God as an Aristotelian substance made up of matter and form and subject to accidents. The Trinitarian persons are not parts that make up a whole, or individual members of the same genus. Analogies can help us think about the Trinity. In his *De trinitate* Augustine develops a series of analogies of the Trinity based on triads found in human psychology. There is the lover, the beloved, and the love that unites them. There is the self, its knowledge of self, and its love of self. Most useful, for the Lombard, is the Augustinian analogy of the human soul's attributes of memory, intellect, and will. As aspects of a single subsistent mind, these faculties are both distinguishable and coactive. At the same time, they do not denote the sum total of the person in whom they inhere. The Lombard buttresses each and every one of these points with a quotation from Augustine; indeed, as John T. Slotemaker points out, it was the Lombard who revived the memory-intellect-will analogy of Augustine's *De trinitate* in this context, putting it on the subsequent scholastic agenda.<sup>49</sup> Had Joachim's private revelation not excused him from attending to what these two authors actually said, in what his critics viewed as his own departure from the Western theological tradition, it would have been more plausible to put Augustine in the dock than to indict Peter Lombard for his presumed scholastic novelties.

In the half-century after the Lombard scholasticism moved swiftly, a phenomenon acknowledged and approved by Innocent III. He had spent the decade from the mid-1170s to the mid-1180s studying with cutting-edge scholastics in Paris. Among the Paris masters teaching theology during that decade were disciples of the Lombard such as Peter Comestor and Peter of Poitiers, and those who marched to different drummers such as Alan of Lille and Simon of Tournai. The masters Innocent chose as his own were Melior

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49 E.g. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, I.d.2.1, I.d.3.c.4, I.d.8.c.1.2–3, I.d.8.c.5, I.d.8.c.7, I.d.9.c.1.1–4, I.d.10.c.1.1–3, I.d.22.c.1.1–I.d.27.c.3.4, I.d.33.c.1.1–10, ed. by Brady, i, pp. 61–62, 76–77, 95, 99–100, 100–101, 103, 110–12, 178–206, 340–43. For discussion, see Colish, *Peter Lombard*, i, pp. 91–154, 227–63, and, more briefly, Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 71–92; Silano, intro. to Peter Lombard, *The Sentences*, trans. by Silano, i, pp. xxxi–xlii; Slotemaker, 'Peter Lombard and the *imago Trinitatis*', pp. 180–88. For excellent recent analyses of Augustine himself on these issues, see Teske, 'Augustine's Use of *Substantia* in Speaking about God'; Ayres, 'Augustine on the Trinity'; Boulnois, 'L'exégèse de la théophanie de Mambré dans le *De trinitate* d'Augustin'; Löffl, 'Augustine's Use of Aristotle's *Categories* in *De trinitate*'; King, 'The Semantics of Augustine's Trinitarian Analysis'; Karfíková, 'Essentia et substantia chez Augustin et Pierre Abélard', pp. 711–12. See also the introduction to Augustine, *The Trinity*, trans. by Hill, pp. 24, 186–88. Cf. Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse*, pp. 144–45, who sees the Lombard as departing from Augustine, but on a different issue, whether the divine essence can generate the Son. As she notes, on that topic the Lombard, answering that question negatively, adds a distinction that is not found in the passage he quotes from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, i. 5. Gemeinhardt, Joachim the Theologian', pp. 44–69, 79–80, sees the contest as one between different versions of Augustinianism; in his view the council fathers thought that Augustine's use of analogy, and Augustine's authority itself, had become problematic. Gemeinhardt does not note the respective uses of analogy by Joachim and the Lombard or the semantic arguments of the *Psalterium decem chordarum*.

of Pisa, Peter the Chanter, and Peter of Corbeil. The Chanter is the only one of the three who left writings that have come down to us. Fellow students of Innocent who became masters in turn during his years in Paris included Stephen Langton and Prepositinus of Cremona, who took Lombardian theology in new directions, and Robert of Courçon. Innocent granted ecclesiastical preferment to several of these figures. He promoted Peter of Corbeil to the bishopric of Cambrai and then to the archbishopric of Sens. He raised both Stephen Langton and Robert of Courçon to the cardinalate, and made Robert his legate to the new University of Paris in 1215, entrusting to him the implementation of statutes that reflect Innocent's lively and continuing interest in theological education at his alma mater.<sup>50</sup>

This interest was also a well-informed one. Current scholastic philosophy and theology were decidedly within Innocent's comfort zone. These were subjects on which he was knowledgeable. He had Peter Lombard's *Sentences* read to him at mealtimes and observed, correctly, that those who had issued the challenges to the master's Christology that had been laid to rest or had died on the vine had confused the views he summarized with those he espoused.<sup>51</sup> Even more telling is Innocent's reply in 1201 to a theological query from Peter, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela. As Innocent notes, speculative grammar now refines our use of theological language. Some nouns and verbs have different meanings in different disciplines, and in theology. This principle underlies the issue of whether the names of the Trinitarian persons are proper nouns, and how we are to understand the relationship between each Trinitarian name and the personal properties of the one so named. Innocent observes that he is treating this topic *scholastico more*, as his own studies had taught

50 These aspects of Innocent's background, scholastic studies and connections, and policies have been widely recognized. See in particular Maccarrone, 'Innocenzo III prima del pontificato', pp. 69–77; Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 3, 4–5, 294; Classen, 'Rom und Paris', pp. 122–28, 153–60; Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III als Theologe', pp. 68–113; Peters, 'Lotario dei Conti di Segno Becomes Pope Innocent III', pp. 10–11, 17–18; Kay, 'Innocent III as Canonist and Theologian', pp. 39–40, 49; Dickerhof, 'Papst Innocenz III und die Universitäten', pp. 119–24; Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 3–4, 7, 9–11, 16, 20–21, 22, 59; Mews and Monagle, 'Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore, and the Fourth Lateran Council', pp. 117–20; Maleczek, 'Innocenzo III', pp. 17–18, 20, 24–25; Monagle, 'Theology, Practice and Policy at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century', pp. 446–48, 456; Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, pp. 27–28, 33; Doyle, *Peter Lombard and his Students*, pp. 68–71. Cf. the view that Innocent was an anti-scholastic biblical exegete, as in Robb, 'Joachimist Exegesis', pp. 138–39, 150–51; or that his interest in theology was purely pastoral, except when it came to the Eucharist, as in Monagle, 'Theology, Practice and Policy at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century', p. 447, and Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III als Theologe', pp. 118–23, who, however, does not discuss the pope's Trinitarian policy at Lateran IV in making this assessment and who flags Innocent's interest in semantics and theological language in his letter to Peter of Compostela in the paper cited in note 19, below.

51 Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 4, 13 n. 46. For the debate on the Lombard's Christology, see Colish, 'Christological Nihilianism'; Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse*, pp. 73–111.

him, a mode of analysis which he advocates as befitting the learned since it equips us to speak about God with clarity and precision.<sup>52</sup>

This concern with semantics and its application to the Trinity was indeed a marked feature of twelfth-century scholasticism, enlisting masters of varied allegiances.<sup>53</sup> We are indebted above all to Luisa Valente for mapping its history in the second half of the century and for the following summary, which reprises her findings and conclusions.<sup>54</sup> The *Sprachlogik* of all involved was notably post-Lombardian. Before and apart from the reception of the *Posterior Analytics*, Paris scholastics developed a post-Aristotelian semantics. It was not arts masters but theologians who created this theory, to meet their own disciplinary needs. And, a contemporary judgement which Valente documents and supports, Stephen Langton was regarded as the acknowledged leader in this field.<sup>55</sup>

Langtonian semantics as applied to the Trinity distinguishes between signification and supposition. According to this theory, the terms that properly signify the Godhead are transcendental terms such as 'one', 'being', 'essence' — and *res*. *Res* also denotes singular or plural creatures which, unlike God, are composite entities made up of matter and form and modified by accidents. A term that signifies in one proposition may supposit in others. We can suppose the noun *Deus* essentially, personally, or notionally, depending on whether we refer to God's *quid*, *quis*, or *quo*. We suppose *Deus* essentially when we speak of the Godhead. We suppose *Deus* personally when we speak of the Father, Son, or Holy Spirit. We suppose *Deus* notionally when we speak of the *paternitas*, *innascibilitas*, *spiratio*, *filiatio*, or *processio* of the Trinitarian persons who have these properties. Langton emphasizes that the relationships to which these *notiones* refer are not Aristotelian accidents. Nor are they mere mental constructs devised for theological convenience. The properties of the Trinitarian persons which they denote are real, eternal, and immutable. At the same time, Langton stresses that a Trinitarian *notio* is not a *res*. For the term *res* applies properly to the divine essence as such. If each of the *notiones*

<sup>52</sup> Egger, 'A Theologian at Work', pp. 32–33; he quotes the text of the letter at p. 32, now enlarging his understanding of the scope of Innocent's theological interests vis-à-vis that stated in the paper cited in note 17, above.

<sup>53</sup> For the first half of the twelfth century, see Poirel, *Livre de la nature et débat trinitaire*, pp. 274–343, 387–88, and for the later development of the school of St Victor, see Poirel, 'Scholastic Reasons, Monastic Meditations, and Victorine Conciliations', pp. 178–80; for the second half of the century, see also Schmaus, 'Die Texte des Trinitätslehre', pp. 62–65; Schneider, *Die Lehre vom dreieinigen Gott*, pp. 112–23, 135–38, 179–80, 224–28; Robb, 'The Function of Repetition in Scholastic Theology', pp. 49–56. Of little use is Wipfler, *Die Trinitätsspekulation*, who reads the positions of Peter of Poitiers and Richard of St Victor through anachronistic Thomistic lenses.

<sup>54</sup> Valente, *Logique et théologie*, at pp. 36, 257–66, 337–91 for Langton in particular; she amplifies her magnum opus in Valente, 'Logique et théologie trinitaire chez Étienne Langton'. See also Ebbesen, 'The Semantics of the Trinity'; Quinto, 'Stephen Langton', pp. 54–66.

<sup>55</sup> On these points in particular, see Ebbesen, 'The Semantics of the Trinity', p. 402; Valente, *Logique et théologie*, pp. 273–393; Valente, 'Logique et théologie trinitaire chez Étienne Langton', p. 563; Quinto, 'Stephen Langton', p. 58.

that name the Trinitarian persons were a *res*, the existence of more than one divine *notio* would mean the existence of more than one God. This semantic theory was hailed, and invoked, by scholastics at the time for its ability to preserve God's simplicity while providing them with sufficient flexibility and precision for the range of predication they needed in order to make coherent statements about the Trinitarian persons, without multiplying the divine essence. Langton's rigour in refining this theory and applying it to the Trinity, thereby advancing the theologians' project of *fides quaerens intellectum*, was heralded as unmatched among his contemporaries.

When Innocent decided to raise the most eminent Paris scholastic to the cardinalate in 1206, as a way of bringing the Roman clergy up to speed on current scholastic theology, Stephen Langton was not only the most obvious choice but also his only really viable choice. Peter the Chanter had famously stated that scholastic theologians had three duties: to lecture on the Bible, to dispute, and to preach.<sup>56</sup> Finding a master who excelled in all three areas, and whose thought was up to date in all of them, was harder in 1206 than it might seem. A whole cadre of the Paris masters known to Innocent, including Peter of Poitiers, Peter the Chanter, Simon of Tournai, and Alan of Lille, had died between 1197 and 1203.<sup>57</sup> Alan had actually left Paris as early as 1180, spending the last two decades of his career in the Midi debating with heretics and non-believers. Innocent's fellow student Robert of Courçon, to whom he gave a cardinal's hat in 1212, had produced a *Summa*, but it was not a work of systematic theology, confining its subject matter to ethics.<sup>58</sup> A cardinal already on hand in Rome and a former Paris scholastic who had produced a *Summa* of theology as well as a volume of biblical distinctions was Peter of Capua.<sup>59</sup> Innocent chose Peter as his legate to the Fourth Crusade and blamed him, albeit unfairly, for its failure to reach the Holy Land. Stripped of his legatine office and recalled from Constantinople in 1205, Peter was under a cloud in Rome and remained marginal in the papal Curia until his death in 1214. In any case his theology, dating to the 1180s, was no longer current.

Even more out of the question was Prepositinus of Cremona.<sup>60</sup> His *Summa* had been the last word in 1195, when he left Paris to become a canon of Mainz

<sup>56</sup> Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, i. 1, ed. by Boutry, p. 9.

<sup>57</sup> On these figures, their biographies, their writings, and literature on them except for Robert of Courçon, see Colish, 'Scholastic Theology in Paris', pp. 30–42.

<sup>58</sup> Robert's *Summa* dates to 1201. On his career and writings, see Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson'; Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 219–27; Gorochov, *Naissance de la université*, p. 62.

<sup>59</sup> The fullest biography is Maleczek, *Pietro Capuano*, pp. 1–9, 12, 15–52, 54, 189–220; see pp. 226–32, 234, 278 for Peter's post-crusade activities and pp. 255–76 for his writings.

See also Gorochov, *Naissance de la université*, p. 63. On the influence of Peter's book of biblical distinctions, completed after he became a cardinal in 1193, see Rouse and Rouse, 'The Schools and the Waldensians'. On Peter's *Summa*, see Courtenay, 'Peter of Capua as a Nominalist' (although Courtenay mistakenly identifies him with his later relative, also a Paris master, who had the same name); Pioppi, *La dottrina sui nomi essenziali di Dio*.

<sup>60</sup> For debates on when Prepositinus became a master in Paris and his controversial semantic

and head of its episcopal school. Far from being aspiring theologians, his students in Mainz were aristocratic youths, relatives of men already canons of Mainz, being groomed to enter that calling. Judging from the works he wrote in Mainz, Prepositinus saw his pedagogical goal there as grounding these pupils in the liberal arts and in the Mainz liturgy, and as calming their worries about discrepancies in the biblical texts read at Mass, rather than as stimulating critical thought. During his Paris years Prepositinus had defended a semantic theory that made him an outlier among his scholastic peers. This theory held that nouns and verbs should be understood univocally, as having the same meanings regardless of the discipline or propositional context in which they are used. This claim was unpopular among scholastic theologians of the day because it posits a literal parity between the terms apposite to created beings and those apposite to the deity. More typical responses to that issue were either to treat theological language as metaphorical or to invoke the supposition theory described above. Prepositinus's semantics swam across the contemporary scholastic current and, as we have seen, Innocent's letter of 1201 to Peter of Compostela reflects the fact that he disagreed with it.

Aside from that, and despite other teachings of Prepositinus with which the pope might have concurred, at the point when Innocent named his new cardinal Prepositinus had been out of the scholastic loop for ten years and, in the interim, had become a political liability. He had earned Innocent's wrath for supporting Liutpold of Worms, the candidate of the Welf emperor Otto IV, and for opposing Siegfried of Eppenstein, backed by the Hohenstaufen Philip of Swabia and the pope's own choice when the contested see of Mainz fell vacant in 1200. The canons of Mainz were divided. When it became clear that Liutpold's promotion contravened canon law, his defenders fell into line and accepted Siegfried. But Prepositinus continued to agitate against Siegfried until 1203, even to the point of claiming that the pallium that Innocent granted him was a fake pallium. On 10 April 1203 an exasperated Innocent wrote to Prepositinus, ordering him summarily to desist within thirty days on pain of deprivation of his benefices. On 2 December 1203 Innocent wrote to Archbishop Siegfried, replacing Prepositinus as *scholasticus* of Mainz with one Simon, a cleric in the suite of his current papal legate in Germany.

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theory, see Valente, *Logique et théologie*, pp. 29 n. 84, 29, 206–56; Valente, 'Alain de Lille et Prévostin de Crémone'; and Sweeney, *Logic, Theology, and Poetry*, ch. 3; for his career and writings between 1195 and 1203, the controversies Prepositinus provoked in Mainz, and a guide to the sources for them, see Colish, 'Scholastic Theology in Paris', pp. 32–34; Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, p. 73; for the political backstory of the disputed Mainz election and Siegfried's later career, see Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 148–49; Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 182–83, 216, 236–37; on Siegfried's presence in Rome between 1206 and 1208 and his maladroit intervention at Lateran IV, see Kuttner and García y García, eds, 'A New Eyewitness Account', pp. 158–61. For Prepositinus's Trinitarian theology, see Angelini, *L'ortodossia e la grammatica*; for his university sermons as chancellor expressing annoyance at the arts masters' enthusiasm for Aristotle, see de Libera, *La philosophie médiévale*, p. 365.

Prepositinus then sank from view, his whereabouts and activities between 1203 and 1206 unknown, only to resurface as chancellor of the University of Paris from 1206 to 1209, when he resigned, apparently because of ill health, dying in 1210. His attainment of the chancellorship is a mystery. It is not clear whether his colleagues in Paris knew of or cared about his contretemps in Mainz, or how he gained the support of Odo of Sully, the bishop of Paris who appointed him. If indeed Prepositinus had managed to make peace with the pope, the bad odour he had left in Germany had not been dispelled. Innocent's soon-to-be-named new papal legate in Germany, Siegfried of Mainz himself, was in Rome between 1206 and 1208. Even had Innocent approved of Prepositinus's radical semantic theory, considerations of German politics and Prepositinus's own intransigence made him a non-candidate in papal eyes.

And so Stephen Langton it was. Innocent's choice acknowledged Langton's positive academic merits and not just the lesser attractions of other candidates. Renowned as a biblical exegete, a preacher, and a theologian, Langton had taught in Paris since the 1170s with no leaves of absence and no political involvements. He had lectured, more than once, on the entire Old and New Testaments. He had commented on the *Collectanea*, Peter Lombard's commentary on the Pauline Epistles. He had contributed to, and taught, the successive redactions of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*. His fame as a preacher had earned him the cognomen *Linguatorante*, a riff on his own toponym. He had covered the ground of systematic theology in a host of *quaestiones*, collected into a *Summa* following the now-popular organizational scheme of the Lombard's *Sentences*. He was the only scholastic of his day to receive an honorific, as the *Doctor Nominatissimus*. Another one of Langton's attractions, to Innocent, was that he had not involved himself in politics. He had clean hands. He was the ideal exponent of the Lombardian tradition, of how it had developed, and where it now stood. His teaching assignment in Rome, in 1206–1207, was designed to impart that knowledge to his Roman audience.

That this teaching in Rome, possibly at the cathedral school of St John Lateran, took the form of Langton's *Sentences* commentary has occasioned a scholarly debate. Noting that positions which Langton takes in this text are already found in questions he discussed earlier, Claire Angotti dates the commentary to the 1190s. She does not speculate on the form which Langton's course in Rome would have taken. Drawing on his unrivalled knowledge of Langton's works, most of which were still unedited when he and Angotti exchanged views, Riccardo Quinto agrees that many of Langton's earlier *quaestiones* were recycled in the commentary. But Quinto makes two other observations suggesting the likelihood of Rome in 1206–1207 as the place and date of the commentary, which we find persuasive. One is the fact that, before he left Paris in 1206, Langton had gathered his *quaestiones* together into a *Summa* as the preferred genre for expressing his overall theological system. In the last quarter of the twelfth century, scholastics who wanted to present an overall theology typically did so either as a *Summa* in their own name or as a commentary on the *Sentences*, but not both. This period predates the era in which a rising university

theologian produced a *Sentences* commentary at the start of his career, which he then might follow with a mature *Summa*. Langton would have regarded it as redundant to offer the same material to his students in Paris in the 1190s in both genres. He evidently chose the *Sentences* commentary format, which had not featured in his Paris classroom, as a presentation of Lombardian theology deemed better suited to the needs of his Roman audience. Quinto also notes that Langton already had well-developed and even quite distinctive positions on the sacraments. But his *Sentences* commentary breaks off shortly after the opening of Book iv on baptism. Had he decided to compose this commentary during his time in Paris, there is no particular reason why he would have stopped at that point. The most cogent reason for this interruption was the outbreak of the dispute over his consecration as archbishop of Canterbury, which took him out of the classroom altogether, occasioning his departure from Rome in 1207 and a shift in his career from pedagogy to politics.<sup>61</sup>

If Langton had steered clear of politics during his many years in Paris, he emerged as a quick study of that subject starting in 1207. Innocent reacted to John's refusal to accept Langton as archbishop of Canterbury and to allow him entry into England by placing an interdict on England in 1208 and by excommunicating John in 1209. This situation added to John's losses and the troubles he faced from his aggrieved barons, who were already considering rebellion as early as 1212. Until the summer of 1213, when Innocent forced John to back down and to accept Langton as archbishop, Langton pointedly chose to reside at Pontigny, the same Cistercian abbey which had given hospitality to his sainted predecessor Thomas Becket when he fled the wrath of John's father, Henry II, in 1164. As soon as he arrived in England Langton became a major player in the baronial revolt that led to the signing of Magna Carta. He could not avoid doing so since his intervention between king and barons was one of the terms involved in Innocent's lifting of the interdict and excommunication, an office which Langton discharged on 20 July 1213.

Well beyond the execution of that duty and his concern for the liberties of the Church, Langton agreed with the barons' grievances. They were quick to

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61 Cf. Angotti, 'Étienne Langton', pp. 492–99, and Quinto, 'La constitution du texte des *quaestiones theologiae*'; Quinto, 'Stephen Langton', pp. 40–49; on the locus where Langton taught in Rome, Quinto holds, in the last-cited work at p. 37 n. 10, that is was probably St John Lateran, since the *studium romanæ curiae* was not established until 1245. These two studies by Quinto revise his dating of some of Langton's works in his 'Doctor Nominatissimus'. In a personal communication to the author on 7 July 2011, Quinto noted that, given Langton's chosen genre of the *Summa* for reprising his teaching in Paris, his *Sentences* commentary was the likely form of his teaching in Rome in 1206–1207. On Langton's career in Paris, see Clark, *The Making of the Historia Scholastica*, pp. 164–72, 197–98, 205–06, 215, 254–58. On the tendency of Langton and other current theologians, whatever their positions, to present their teaching as *quaestiones* following the organizational plan of the *Sentences*, see Saccenti, 'Questions et Sentences', pp. 289–90, 292–93. For the *Sentences* commentary option in the late twelfth century, see also Spatz, 'Approaches and Attitudes to a New Theology Textbook'; Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book*, pp. 21–52.

recruit him to their side. His contributions to their cause went beyond moral support; he also served as a go-between and negotiator and may also have provided some of the wording that went into the version of Magna Carta signed on 15 June 1215. When Innocent learned of this event, he ordered Langton to excommunicate the Magna Carta barons at once. Langton refused. He did excommunicate them, but not until September 1215, and not because they had rebelled against John but because they had violated Magna Carta by inviting Prince Louis, son and heir of Philip II of France, to invade England, to depose John, and to replace him on the throne, thereby committing high treason. Innocent sanctioned Langton on account of his initial refusal by suspending him. Although this suspension was not formally annulled until 1216, Langton soon regained the pope's favour and attended Lateran IV as one of the council fathers.<sup>62</sup> He was thus present in Rome in November 1215 and able to refresh the memories of those he had taught in 1206–1207. Langton's possible influence on the framing of Canon 2 has been hinted at only in passing, but in vague terms and without a detailed consideration of his *Sentences* commentary.<sup>63</sup> Turning now to that text, a source hidden in plain sight, there are two issues Langton raises in this work that echo in Canon 2: the meaning of the term *res* and the critique of Joachim's *populus* analogy.

Throughout Book i of his commentary Langton invokes the distinction between signification and supposition and the principle that some terms refer to God essentially while others refer personally or notionally, but not essentially, to the Trinitarian persons.<sup>64</sup> He agrees with Augustine and with the Lombard that, while theologians cannot get rid of *substantia, essentia* is the best term for the Godhead and that Augustine's *quaedam summa res* is the triune God who should be enjoyed above all.<sup>65</sup> In this statement, Langton stresses, *res* must be understood as a properly essential term. It is not a term that supposes Trinitarian persons. For, if *res* were applied to the Trinitarian persons it would yield three Gods.<sup>66</sup> While the divine essence is in all three

62 Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, p. 230; for politics in England at this time, Langton's Magna Carta role, his brief suspension and restoration to papal favour, and his excommunication of the rebels only after they themselves had violated the charter, see Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 10–17, 20–21, 32, 121, 194–98, 204–05, 213–14, 228, 233–34, 242–43, 250, 252, 289, 309–12, 327, 338, 341–44; Church, *King John and the Road to Magna Carta*, pp. 207–25, 227–28, 232–35.

63 E.g. Robb, 'The Function of Repetition in Scholastic Theology', pp. 57, 68–69; Monagle, 'Theology, Practice and Policy at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century', p. 456; Gemeinhardt, 'The Trinitarian Theology of Joachim of Fiore', p. 28; Rainini, 'Firmiter credimus', p. 153; Potestà, 'La condanna del *libellus* trinitario di Gioacchino da Fiore', p. 220.

64 Langton, *Der Sentenzkommentar*, I.d.1.c.2.n.4, I.d.4.c.i.n.50–I.d.5.n.54, I.d.7.c.i.n.73, I.d.17.c.i.n.143, I.d.22.c.2.n.199–I.d.25.c.i.n.217, I.d.28.c.2.n.247, I.d.28.c.6.n.251, I.d.30.c.i.n.263, I.d.33.c.i.n.295, I.d.33.c.a.n.308, ed. by Landgraf, pp. 3–4, 6–7, 18, 22–25, 31, 34, 35, 37–38, 43–45, 46.

65 Langton, *Der Sentenzkommentar*, I.d.26.c.i.n.227, ed. by Landgraf, pp. 25–26. This point is also found in Langton's earlier work, as is noted by Ebbesen and Mortensen, 'A Partial Edition of Stephen Langton's *Summa'*, pp. 208, 217–20.

66 Langton, *Der Sentenzkommentar*, I.d.1.c.2.n.4, ed. by Landgraf, pp. 3–4.

persons, we cannot speak of a threefold essence (*hec non valet: essentia trina*). *Trinus* refers only to the distinction among the persons (*notat distinctionem inter personas tantum*).<sup>67</sup> *Trinitas* does not supposit in the same way. Nor, on the model of Joachim's *unitas*, does *trinitas* refer to the Trinitarian persons as parts of a whole, or as members of a group. Langton clearly adverts to and rejects Joachim's analogy. *Collectivum* denotes a group of people. Such is the case with a *populus* as a collection of men. 'But while the noun *populus* applies fittingly to these men, as when it is said that "these men are part of a *populus*", the term does not apply the same way if it is said that "these two persons are part of the Trinity"'.<sup>68</sup> It is not only the incommensurability between the Trinity and human groups that informs this analysis but also the semantic strictures which Langton places on the theological use of the word *res*.

The framers of Canon 2 grasped Langton's criticism of Joachim's *populus* analogy and treated the Augustinian-Lombardian *quaedam summa res* as a Langtonian *res* that properly denotes the Godhead but not the Trinitarian persons:

Abbot Joachim clearly protests that there does not exist any reality (*nulla res est*) which is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit [together] [...] although he concedes that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one essence, one substance, one nature. He professes, however, that such a unity is not true and proper but either collective or analogous (*non veram et propriam, sed quasi collectivum et similitudinariam esse fatetur*), in the way that many persons are said to be one *populus* and many faithful one *ecclesia* [...]. For, he says that Christ's faithful are not one in the sense of a single reality which is common to all (*unam quaedam res quae communis sit omnibus*). They are one only in the sense that they form one church through the unity of the Catholic faith, and one kingdom through union in indissoluble charity.<sup>69</sup>

The *populus* analogy fails, since 'between creator and creature there can be no similarity so great that a greater dissimilarity cannot be seen between them'.<sup>70</sup> Canon 2 then goes on to affirm, as Lombardian doctrine, the specifically Langtonian point that the individual properties of the Trinitarian persons do not make them three *res*.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Langton, *Der Sentenzkommentar*, I.d.19.c.12.n.185, ed. by Landgraf, p. 21.

<sup>68</sup> Langton, *Der Sentenzkommentar*, I.d.19.c.12.n.185, ed. by Landgraf, pp. 22–23: 'Appellat enim collectionem personarum, sicut *populus* collectionum. Set non sicut nomen *populus* convenit ipsis hominibus, ut cum dicitur: isti homines sunt pars populi, ita dicitur: iste due persone sunt pars trinitatis'.

<sup>69</sup> Canon 2 of Lateran IV, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. by Tanner, i, p. 232; Latin at i, p. 231.

<sup>70</sup> *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. by Tanner, i, p. 232; Latin at i, p. 231: 'quo inter creatorem et creaturam non potest tanta similitudo notari, quin inter eos maior sit dissimilitudo notanda'.

<sup>71</sup> *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. by Tanner, i, pp. 231–32. Cf. De Fraja,

In declaring Joachim's position on this issue heretical the council fathers recognized that, unlike the personal properties of Trinitarian persons as they, and Langton, understood them, the beliefs and values that bond people in human groups are neither intrinsic nor unchanging. Subjects can rebel and believers can fall into doctrinal error. Rulers have a duty to penalize these deviations. The council fathers did their duty by adopting Canon 2 without demur.<sup>72</sup> Joachim's use of *populus* to ground his analogy may well have compounded their opposition to it. To council fathers whose cities had undergone fractious communal revolutions, or who had passed through them enroute to Rome, this term might have connoted discord, not concord. Especially to clerics in Rome, it would have raised the spectre of their own local *populus*, shifting its support back and forth between the papal government which it undermined and the secular rule of the reconstituted Senate.<sup>73</sup> While their own political experience may have been a sidebar to the objections to Joachim's *populus* analogy which they shared with Langton, their condemnation of Joachim in Canon 2 was not hypothetical, however much his defenders have tried to minimize or nullify it. Some of these defenders argue that the no longer extant *libellus* stating Joachim's position cited in Canon 2 misconstrued Joachim's teaching, although it restated the anti-Lombard argument in his authentic *Psalterium*.<sup>74</sup> Others claim that the Council's decree was not definitive, or

'Arbitrantes nos unitatem scindere', p. 46, who asserts that Canon 2 'non ricorse all'analisi semantica e al metodo logico-grammaticale dei magistri delle scuole e dunque alla puntualizzazione che Stefano Langton aveva avanzato'.

<sup>72</sup> Kuttner and García y García, eds, 'A New Eyewitness Account', pp. 127–28.

<sup>73</sup> Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 409–57, especially at pp. 444–46 and 452; and Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, pp. 123, 130, 132–35, 153–55, 159, shows that this behaviour was particularly conspicuous, fractious, and violent in Rome in the second half of the twelfth century. In the 1140s the Senate destroyed houses of some of Eugenius III's supporters, seized the papal *regalia*, appointed its own urban prefect, established its own judicial tribunals, conducted its own foreign policy, and began to erect its own city hall on the Campidoglio; its power was enhanced by the popes' virtual absence from Rome between 1155 and 1188. Another source of political friction was the issuing of its own coinage by the Senate starting in the 1180s, as is noted by Day, 'Antiquity, Rome, and Florence', pp. 238–42.

<sup>74</sup> A reprise of the early scholarship seeking to exculpate Joachim based on the *libellus* argument, which he rejects, is given by Grundmann, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, pp. 57–60; Bloomfield, *Joachim of Flora*, pp. 254–56, agrees and notes that the *libellus* was extant until the fourteenth century. More recent scholars who concede that the position condemned at Lateran IV can be found in Joachim's authentic works include DiNapoli, 'Gioacchino da Fiore e Pietro Lombardo'; McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot*, pp. 163, 167; Robb, 'The Fourth Lateran Council's Definition of Trinitarian Orthodoxy', pp. 26–29; Lerner, 'Joachim and the Scholastics', pp. 252–53; Mews and Monagle, 'Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore, and the Fourth Lateran Council', pp. 111–17; Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse*, pp. 145–48; Gemeinhardt, 'The Trinitarian Theology of Joachim of Fiore', pp. 9–17; Potestà, 'La condanna del *libellus* trinitario di Gioacchino da Fiore', pp. 203–18. Gemeinhardt, 'Joachim the Theologian', pp. 42, 50–66, and De Fraja, 'Arbitrantes nos unitatem scindere' focus on Joachim's *Confessio trinitatis* and do not discuss the semantics of his *Psalterium*. Paolini, 'La disputa sulla Trinità', pp. 635, 636, 639, 644–45, 651, 652, argues

that it did not impugn Joachim's basic orthodoxy.<sup>75</sup> Still others assert that the council fathers did not appreciate argument by analogy itself or that they were alienated by Joachim's use of *figurae* or by his claim to prophetic authority granted by direct divine revelation.<sup>76</sup>

There is also a range of views on the meaning of Canon 2 among scholars who agree that Lateran IV got it right, consistent with the consensus on the Trinity that prevailed in Latin Christendom in 1215. Some regard Canon 2 as only of marginal interest to the council fathers.<sup>77</sup> Some see its motivation as anti-heretical panic,<sup>78</sup> others as hostility to the idea of private revelation.<sup>79</sup> But others see Canon 2 as of major importance, reflecting Innocent's conviction that the promotion of sound doctrine was a papal

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that, while the *libellus* was not provably authentic, Joachim did attack the Lombard in his known works; he claims that each side misunderstood the other, and that the use of *quasi* in Canon 2 shows hesitation about Joachim's alleged heresy and bespeaks concessions to his (unnamed) supporters.

<sup>75</sup> Early scholarship supporting these views, with which he disagrees, is cited by Grundmann, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, pp. 51–55. But it is still found in recent proponents such as DiNapoli, 'Gioacchino da Fiore e Pietro Lombardo', pp. 675–85; Paolini, 'La disputa sulla Trinità', pp. 651–52; Selge, 'Trinität, Millennium, Apocalypse im Denken Joachims', p. 64; Ghisalberti, 'Monoteismo e trinità nello *Psalterium decem chordarum*', pp. 168–77; Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham*, pp. 19–21, 39; Troncarelli, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, pp. 49–52, 102.

<sup>76</sup> On the purported inability of the council fathers to accept argument from analogy, see Robb, 'Joachimist Exegesis', p. 151; Selge, 'Trinität, Millennium, Apocalypse im Denken Joachims', p. 49; Troncarelli, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, pp. 42–44; Staglianò, 'La dottrina trinitaria di Gioacchino da Fiore'; Monagle, 'Theology, Practice and Policy at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century', p. 445; De Fraja, 'Arbitrantes nos unitatem scindere', pp. 1–3, 44–46. Ghisalberti, 'Monoteismo e trinità nello *Psalterium decem chordarum*', pp. 168, 180, notes Joachim's analogical argumentation but sees Canon 2 as directed against its use by his followers and not by Joachim himself; Paolini, 'La disputa sulla Trinità', pp. 637–41, argues that Joachim both did and did not argue from analogy. Cf. Gemeinhardt, 'The Trinitarian Theology of Joachim of Fiore', pp. 27–29, who notes that the council fathers fully understood, and rejected, Joachim's use of analogy; after reviewing the problems with other interpretations, Gemeinhardt, 'Joachim the Theologian', pp. 77–86, portrays the council fathers' most basic motivation as hostility to Joachim's claim of personal revelation, although, at pp. 44–77, he sees Joachim's position on the Trinity was well within the bounds of current orthodoxy. On the council fathers' purported objection to Joachim's trapezoidal *figura*, see Troncarelli, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, pp. 42–44, 46. While Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, p. 73, think it certain that this figure accompanied the *libellus*, there is no evidence of official criticism of it until later in the thirteenth century, as is noted by Obrist, 'La figure géométrique dans l'oeuvre de Joachim de Flore', pp. 315, 317. For the unexceptional nature of theological diagrams in 1215, see references cited in note 5, above.

<sup>77</sup> Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, p. 240.

<sup>78</sup> Selge, 'Trinität, Millennium, Apocalypse im Denken Joachims', p. 49; Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse*, pp. 150–55, 164, drops the theme of panic and yokes concern with heresy with the assertion of papal authority.

<sup>79</sup> Tavard, *The Contemplative Church*, pp. 9, 10, 18–21, 23–30.

imperative and central to his reform programme.<sup>80</sup> Still others propose that Canon 2 was a compromise forged between unnamed pro-Florensians and Cistercians initially out to blacken Joachim's name. It is true that the Cistercians had grievances against Joachim. He had lobbied for the entry of his abbey of Corazzo into the Cistercian fold from 1177 to 1188. But, on the heels of achieving that goal, he denounced the Cistercian Order in 1189 for failing to uphold the monastic ideal and left it to found his own purely contemplative Florensan Order. The Cistercians responded by condemning him as a *fugitivus*, a renegade, at their General Chapter in 1192; and Geoffrey of Auxerre, former secretary of Bernard of Clairvaux and abbot of several Cistercian houses in turn, wrote bitterly against him. Why the Cistercians would have wanted to compromise with the Florensians and the identity of the alleged parties to that putative event at Lateran IV remain clarified by scholars taking this line.<sup>81</sup> Some commentators on Canon 2 fold presumed opposition to the Trinitarian theology of Peter Abelard<sup>82</sup> or of the Greeks<sup>83</sup> into the mix. More widely held is the view that Lateran IV staged 'a scene from the culture wars': monasticism versus scholasticism, spirituality versus rationalism, biblical and patristic conservatism versus Aristotelian

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80 Dickerhof, 'Papst Innocenz III und die Universitäten', pp. 119–22; Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, pp. 27–28, 33. As described by the witness published by Kuttner and García y García, eds, 'A New Eyewitness Account', pp. 127–28, Innocent preached a sermon at the start of the Council's third session specifically requesting Joachim's condemnation. Cf. Potestà, 'La condanna del *libellus trinitario* di Gioacchino da Fiore', p. 218, who argues that Innocent was not the moving spirit in this decision. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, p. 127, appears to stand alone in seeing this condemnation as a function of the 'victory of the imperial party in the curia'.

81 Early defenders of the compromise view are cited by Grundmann, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, pp. 51–55; recent proponents include Robb, 'Did Innocent III Personally Condemn Joachim of Fiore?', pp. 81, 89–90; Troncarelli, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, pp. 49–50, 51–52; McGinn, 'Joachim of Fiore and the Twelfth-Century Papacy', pp. 21–22. On Cistercian hostility to Joachim and on Geoffrey in particular, see Gastaldelli, 'Goffredo di Auxerre e Gioacchino da Fiore'; also focusing on Geoffrey are Selge, 'L'origine delle opere de Gioacchino da Fiore', pp. 123–24, and Picasso, 'Gioacchino e i cistercensi', pp. 97–98. Joachim was also criticized by Premonstratensians, as is noted by Neel, 'Man's Restoration'; by scholastics such as Peter the Chanter, as is noted by Lerner, 'Joachim and the Scholastics', p. 256; and by clerics such as those in the suite of Richard I of England, to whom Joachim prophesied in Messina in 1191 while Richard was enroute to the Third Crusade, as is noted by Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land*, pp. 86–87. These critics, however, objected to Joachim's apocalypticism, his theology of history, or his biblical exegesis, not his anti-Lombard argument.

82 Ghisalberti, 'Monoteismo e trinità nello *Psalterium decem chordarum*', pp. 166–70; Selge, intro. to Joachim von Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum*, ed. by Selge, pp. cl–cliv.

83 Despite the strongly worded argument of Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, p. 222, against those who maintain that Joachim espoused the Greek emphasis on the economic Trinity, this view resurfaces in Paolini, 'La disputa sulla Trinità', pp. 641–42. We may note that Lateran IV took up relations with the Greek church in its Canon 4, but not in Canon 2.

radicalism.<sup>84</sup> For some the debate was about the Lombard's own thought;<sup>85</sup> for others Canon 2 anticipated philosophical concerns in forms aired only a century after the Lombard's death: realism versus nominalism, logic versus ontology, concrete versus abstract nouns.<sup>86</sup> The scholastic semantic theory that prevailed in 1215, when mentioned at all, has not been seen as key.<sup>87</sup>

All these modes of anachronism and special pleading should be abandoned. Canon 2 condemned Joachim's anti-Lombard argument as heretical clearly and squarely, rejecting his analogizing the Trinity to collective human groups. It defended the Augustinian-Lombardian *quaedam summa res* by clothing the Lombard's theology in the garb of semantic theory as taught by Stephen Langton in Paris at the end of the twelfth century and, as the sense of his career suggests, in Rome in 1206–1207 in his commentary on the *Sentences*. As this essay hopes to have shown, in believing and professing with Peter Lombard, Lateran IV believed and professed with Stephen Langton as well.

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84 Lerner, 'Joachim and the Scholastics', pp. 251–55; quotation at p. 251. Variations on this theme are supported by DiNapoli, 'Gioacchino da Fiore e Pietro Lombardo', pp. 630, 651–54; Paolini, 'La disputa sulla Trinità', pp. 635, 637–41; Robb, 'The Fourth Lateran Council's Definition of Trinitarian Orthodoxy', pp. 24, 26, 34–43; Mehlmann, 'Confessio trinitatis'; Riedl, *Joachim von Fiore*, pp. 216, 219–20; Rainini, 'Firmiter credimus', pp. 149–54. Another variant, that of Mews and Monagle, 'Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore, and the Fourth Lateran Council', pp. 85–86, and Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse*, pp. 145–46, sees Joachim as aligned with Richard of St Victor versus the scholastics, a position not shared by Poirel, 'Scholastic Reasons, Monastic Meditations, and Victorine Conciliations', pp. 178–80.

85 Robb, 'The Fourth Lateran Council's Definition of Trinitarian Orthodoxy', pp. 25–26; Robb, 'Joachimist Exegesis', p. 151, is inconsistent on this point. She is followed by Gemeinhardt, 'Joachim the Theologian', pp. 43, 82–83.

86 For the realism-nominalism interpretation, see Maierù, 'Universaux et trinité', pp. 151–54; Borgo, 'L'Enseignement des *Sentences*', pp. 304–05. For the logic-ontology issue, see Honée, 'Joachim of Fiore', p. 116; at p. 113 he also argues that the meaning of *quaedam summa res*, whether in Augustine, the Lombard, or Canon 2, is 'not immediately obvious'; on the abstract versus concrete nouns argument, see McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot*, pp. 166–67.

87 This perspective, suggested already by Grundmann, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, p. 60, has received all too brief attention by recent scholars such as Ghisalberti, 'Monoteismo e trinità nello *Psalterium decem chordarum*', p. 179; Marshall, 'Utrum *Essentia Generat*', pp. 92–95; Mews and Monagle, 'Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore, and the Fourth Lateran Council', pp. 114, 118–20; Gemeinhardt, 'The Trinitarian Theology of Joachim of Fiore', pp. 11–17, 23–24; and Potestà, 'La condanna del *libellus trinitario* di Gioacchino da Fiore', pp. 220–21.

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## 'The Devil and Other Demons'

### *Lateran IV and the Problem of the Demonic Hierarchies*

#### **The Wording of *Firmiter* in Lateran IV**

There is a bold move afoot in the opening canon of Lateran IV that has gone unnoticed. With a few strokes of a pen — a change from a traditional pronoun (*eius*) to an innovative adjective (*alii*) — Lateran IV dethrones the Devil from the head of the infernal legions and institutes a kind of democracy amongst the demonic hordes. Through this change of word, Lateran IV solidifies the threat of heresy that is its motivating force by reifying the intermediaries who aid human heresiarchs, namely demons, while at the same time it strikes a blow against dualist heresy by denying the superiority of the Devil over the demons and so his putative equality with God as a creative principle.

The opening canon of Lateran IV, known as *Firmiter* from its incipit, has been described by Paul M. Quay as a 'profession of faith' and even a 'fourth creed'.<sup>1</sup> Through close textual analysis, he has shown how it constitutes a comprehensive yet succinct rebuttal of dualist beliefs. It does this by insisting that God is the creator of both the physical and spiritual realms ('creator omnium inuisibilium et visibilium, spiritualium et corporalium'), that humans are organically composed of both corporeal and spiritual aspects ('quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam'), that the evil which tempted humanity emerged from the spiritual and not the corporeal realm ('Homo uero diaboli suggestione peccauit'), and that this evil was self-manufactured and not a function of God's creation ('demones [...] ipsi per se facti sunt mali').<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quay, 'Angels and Demons', p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Quay, 'Angels and Demons', pp. 29–30. All citations of Lateran IV are taken from

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The end of Canon 2 confirms the role of the Devil in driving contemporary heresy by attributing the most perverse teachings ('peruersissimum dogma') of the heretic Amaury de Bène to the Father of Lies who had darkened his mind ('cuius mentem sic pater mendacii excecauit'), a reference to the Devil drawn from John 8. 44.<sup>3</sup>

What has been missed to date is that this apparent statement of orthodoxy and tradition hides a theological sleight-of-hand, a terminological novelty. In *Firmiter*, the spiritual creatures under discussion are described as 'diabolus enim et demones alii'. The critical edition of the constitutions of Lateran IV notes no manuscript variants for this phrase,<sup>4</sup> and the later commentaries on Lateran IV included in Antonio García y García's comprehensive edition either do not reference this phrase or else repeat it as it appears in Lateran IV, without manuscript variants.<sup>5</sup>

Yet the phrase is an unprecedented — with one telling exception — way of describing the infernal hordes. The traditional formulation is 'diabolus et demones eius' — the Devil and *his* demons, not 'the Devil and *other* demons'. A word search across two major Latin databases (the Patrologia Latina and the Brepols Library of Latin Texts) finds no instances of 'diabolus et d(a)emones alii', 'diabolus et alii d(a)emones', 'diabolus enim et d(a)emones alii', or 'diabolus enim et alii d(a)emones', apart from Lateran IV and texts citing Lateran IV.

On the other hand, there is a strong patristic usage of 'diabolus et ministri eius' or 'diabolus cum ministris suis' (and variations) that can be found in early Christian authors from Ambrose and Cassian through Alcuin, Bede, and Cassiodorus, to the twelfth-century writers Anselm of Laon and Richard of St Victor. A number of these usages perhaps approach the sense of 'alii demones' by referencing 'diabolus cum *caeteris* ministris suis' (the Devil and *the rest of* his ministers), but even so, they retain the possessive 'suis' and so do not completely flatten the hierarchy. Some of the most influential formulations make no secret of the pre-eminence of the Devil. The common patristic description of the Devil and the demons 'whose attendants [or minions] they are' ('cuius satellites sunt') appears often throughout medieval theological texts,<sup>6</sup> while Augustine's reference to the demons 'whose prince is the Devil' ('quorum est diabolus princeps')<sup>7</sup> becomes enshrined in later medieval theology through its incorporation in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.<sup>8</sup>

*Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis* (hereafter *Constitutiones*), here p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Constitutiones*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Constitutiones*, p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> See for example the *Casus anonymi Fuldensis in Concilium Quartum Lateranense*, in *Constitutiones*, p. 483: 'In secunda parte dicitur quod diabolus et alii demones creati sunt a Deo natura boni'.

<sup>6</sup> The entry for *satelles* in Howlett and Ashdowne, eds, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* actually cites the demonic usage as head 1c: 'of Satan or demon' (p. 2939).

<sup>7</sup> Augustine, *Contra Maximimum*, ii. 12, col. 768: 'nam et Angeli peccaverunt, et daemones facti sunt, quorum est diabolus princeps'.

<sup>8</sup> Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, Bk i, D. VIII, ch. 2.3. On the role of Lateran IV in confirming the

Indeed, the wording of *Firmiter* runs so counter to tradition that even authors who explicitly quote it do not always maintain its levelling of the demonic cohorts. In his *Super Decretales*, Thomas Aquinas works closely through the theological implications of *Firmiter* to indicate the errors and heresies that are intended to be countered by each turn of phrase. He argues that the lines dealing with the demonic are intended to refute the belief that humans and spiritual creatures were created by twin generative principles, such that the good principle produced good humans and good angels who could not sin, while the evil principle produced evil humans and evil angels, known as demons, who could not not-sin. On the contrary, Aquinas explains, the turn to evil was a matter of free will on the part of both humans and angels:

*Diabolus autem, scilicet principalis, et alii Daemones quidem a Deo natura creati sunt boni, sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali, scilicet per liberum voluntatis arbitrium; homo vero Diaboli suggestione peccavit, idest, non naturaliter, sed propria voluntate.<sup>9</sup>*

It is telling that although Thomas reproduces the wording of Lateran IV in ‘other demons’ (‘alii Daemones’), he nevertheless finds it necessary to gloss this and re-hierarchize the Devil in relation to the other demons as their leader (‘scilicet principalis’).

The unusual wording in *Firmiter* does not appear to be attributable to the personal phraseology of Innocent III, the putative author of the constitutions of Lateran IV,<sup>10</sup> whose usage in his other writings is ambivalent on the matter of demonic hierarchy. It is possible to find instances where Innocent invokes a comparison based on the superiority of the Devil over the other demons, such as where he describes Herod as the Devil and the Jewish people as demons, arguing that Herod is king of the Jews in the same way as the Devil is king of the demons: ‘Herodes diabolus, Judaei daemones; ille rex Judaeorum, iste rex daemonum’.<sup>11</sup> By the same token, it is possible to find a place in Innocent’s writings where, for the purposes of exegesis, the Devil, or perhaps a devil, can be seen as contiguous with any demon: ‘De his tribus personis statim dicitur in principio: *Ductus est Jesus in desertum a spiritu, ut tentaretur a diabolo. Ductus est Jesus, ecce homo. A spiritu, ecce Deus. Ut tentaretur a diabolo, ecce daemon.*<sup>12</sup>’ I cannot, however, find an instance in Innocent’s writings that matches the deliberately de-hierarchizing sense of the phrase ‘other demons’ (‘demones alii’) as used in *Firmiter*.

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pre-eminent orthodoxy of Lombard’s *Sentences*, see Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse*, ch. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Super Decretales*, ed. by Alarcón.

<sup>10</sup> A number of the rubrics in the manuscripts of the *Constitutiones* collated by García y García attribute the text to Dominus Innocentius Papa III (or variants on this name and title); see *Constitutiones*, p. 139. On the influence of Innocent III on Lateran IV, see Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse*, ch. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Innocent III, *Sermo XXIV*, col. 561D.

<sup>12</sup> Innocent III, *Sermo XIII*, col. 371C.

## Alan of Lille and Lateran IV

There is only one author in whose writings I have found this formulation, and that is Alan of Lille, where the phrase 'alii demones' appears in his *De fide catholica contra haereticos libri quattuor*, which was most likely written in the two or three decades prior to Lateran IV.<sup>13</sup> Alan opens this text by noting:

The heretics of our day say that there are two principles of things, a principle of light, and a principle of darkness. The principle of light they say is God, from whom come spiritual things, such as souls and angels; the principle of darkness they call Lucifer, from whom spring the things that are temporal.<sup>14</sup>

As he proceeds to tear down the arguments positing Lucifer as a singular eternal creative principle, Alan needs to emphasize that the Devil is only one of myriad, created, demons. Accordingly, he points out that the demon expelled by Jesus claimed that its name was 'Legion' (Mark 5, 9), 'because he was not one sole demon, but many'.<sup>15</sup> Since the 'other demons' ('alii daemones') were therefore co-eternal with Lucifer, Alan continues, it must be asked whether they are viewed by heretics as co-creators with him, in which case Lucifer cannot be viewed as a pre-eminent and pre-existent being. But if the 'other demons' had a beginning in time, it must be asked by whom they were created, since they clearly did not manufacture themselves or appear by chance. If Lucifer is claimed as their creator, then contrary to dualist belief, he must also be the creator of spiritual things, rather than only corporeal things. On the other hand, if the demons took their beginning from God, then God is their creator.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Jean Longère notes that the *De fide* was dedicated to William VIII as lord of Montpellier, a position he held from 1172 to 1202 (Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, p. 24). Alan is believed to have died in or by 1203 (Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, pp. 20–21, 26). Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny suggests a period of 1185–1200 for the composition of the *De fide* (Alain de Lille, *Textes inédits*, p. 156). She notes that of the four types of heretics Alan treats in this text, the space he dedicates to refuting the dualists far exceeds that given to Jewish or Muslim beliefs (p. 157).

<sup>14</sup> Alan of Lille, *De fide catholica*, col. 308C: 'Aiunt haeretici temporis nostri quod duo sunt principia rerum, et principium lucis, et principium tenebrarum. Principium lucis dicunt esse Deum, a quo sunt spiritualia, videlicet animae et angelii; principium tenebrarum, Luciferum, a quo sunt temporalia'; all translations from Alan's texts in this essay are mine.

<sup>15</sup> Alan of Lille, *De fide catholica*, col. 315A: 'Si dicant quod non fuerit nisi unus solus daemon scilicet Lucifer, convincuntur auctoritate evangelica testante, quod diabolus respondens Christo quaerenti, quod esset nomen ejus, dixit: *Legio est nomen mihi* (Marc. V), quasi dicat: non est hic unus solus daemon, sed plures.'

<sup>16</sup> Alan of Lille, *De fide catholica*, col. 315B: 'Item si alii daemones fuerint Luciferi coaeterni, quaeritur, utrum potuerint creare mundum sicut Lucifer, cum essent ejusdem naturae cum eo. Si vero alii daemones initium habuerunt, quaeritur, a quo? manifestum est enim quod neque se composuerunt, neque casu esse potuerunt. Sed si a Lucifero initium habuerunt, Lucifer non solum auctor fuit corporalium, sed etiam spiritualium. Sed si a Deo, Deus fuit auctor eorum'.

It seems clear, then, that *Firmiter* has taken its phraseology 'diabolus enim et daemones alii' directly from Alan's *De fide catholica* and that these words are included in Lateran IV for their rhetorical value in combatting dualist belief by flattening the demonic hierarchy and deposing the Devil as a pre-eminent spiritual being. This is underscored by the fact that a number of manuscripts apply a rubric to Canon 1 that is either made up of or incorporates the phrase 'De fide catholica'.<sup>17</sup>

The use of Alan's words in *Firmiter* also brings into question the argument advanced by Hilbert Chiu and supported by Mark Pegg that *De fide catholica* was written only as a schoolroom text designed to teach students how to battle straw-men 'heretics' and had no real-world application.<sup>18</sup> Whatever Alan's intentions in writing the text, it is evident that some years after its creation, *De fide catholica* was having a genuine impact on papal policy and *praxis* through its influence on the wording of Lateran IV.

Nor is this the only evidence of Alan's continuing real-world impact. Jean Longère, in his edition of Alan's *Liber poenitentialis*, has drawn attention to the fact that there is a significant similarity between Alan's teaching in this treatise and Canon 21 of Lateran IV, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which mandates universal annual confession.<sup>19</sup> He notes that the *Liber poenitentialis* (as similarly the *De fide*) was written in a region that was facing the threat of heresy.<sup>20</sup> This influenced its teachings, since compulsory annual confession to a parish priest was a strategy that would permit easier and more expedient identification of local heretical beliefs, an outcome which was of interest to both Alan and Innocent III.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, there are strong parallels between the *Liber poenitentialis* and the *De fide*, evident in the justification of the catholic sacrament of confession in the *De fide*.<sup>22</sup> As Longère notes, Alan's *Liber poenitentialis* reveals how theological doctrine could become part of Church *praxis*.<sup>23</sup> This bolsters the contention that *Firmiter* was similarly influenced by Alan's wording in his *De fide*.

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<sup>17</sup> *Constitutiones*, p. 140.

<sup>18</sup> Chiu, 'Alan of Lille's Academic Concept of the Manichee', pp. 496, 498, 500–502; Pegg, 'The Paradigm of Catharism', p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, p. 225: 'Quiconque a fréquenté l'œuvre d'Alain constate l'étonnante concordance de doctrine et de formule entre le *Liber Poenitentialis* et le canon 21 du IV<sup>e</sup> concile de Latran (1215)'.

<sup>20</sup> Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, pp. 223, 217.

<sup>21</sup> Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, pp. 224, 228.

<sup>22</sup> Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, p. 223; Longère lists the capitula dealing with confession in the *De fide* in n. 37.

<sup>23</sup> Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, p. 225: 'Il ne s'agit pas de plus de faire de concordisme facile. Mais on voudrait montrer comment une décision disciplinaire peut être préparée par le travail des théologiens et des canonistes, comme par la pratique de l'Église'.

## Alan of Lille and the Demonic Hierarchies

Alan's concern with dethroning Lucifer is evident in other of his writings, and particularly his pioneering articulation of the demonic hierarchies. In the early sixth century CE, an author known to us today only as Pseudo-Dionysius (because he was understood throughout the Middle Ages to be Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned in Acts 17. 34 as the personal convert of Paul) posited two matching sets of hierarchies by which the world was ordered: the celestial hierarchy of angels and the ecclesiastical hierarchy of humans in the service of God. Originally written in Greek, the *Celestial Hierarchy* was translated into Latin in the ninth century by John Scotus Eriugena and became particularly prominent in Western theology following its exegesis by Hugh of St Victor in the early twelfth century.<sup>24</sup> The angelic hierarchies became popular subjects of analysis, particularly as they spoke to the scholastic vision of the universe as an intricately ordered, evenly gradated, expression of God's creative power.<sup>25</sup>

We can see how Alan manipulates the angelic hierarchies in various of his writings in order to express God's divinely ordered universe and the role of humans in it. In his *Sermo in die Sancti Michaelis*, a short text taking up only one to two folios in each of the manuscripts where it appears, Alan appropriates the angelic hierarchies as future rewards for humans who have lived holy lives. Thus, because the Seraphim signify an order of angels who burn with love for God, this order will be the repose in the life to come for those holy people who have given themselves over completely in this life to the love of God alone.<sup>26</sup> Demons are only mentioned in this short text in relation to the angelic order of the Powers (*Potestates*) whose office is to ward off demons so that they are not able to tempt humans as they might wish.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, the humans who will be accepted into the order of Powers after death will be those who have 'manfully' resisted diabolic temptation in the current life.<sup>28</sup>

In his *Expositio prosae de angelis* Alan offers a longer and more comprehensive account of the angelic hierarchies in the context of a commentary on the widely sung sequence *Ad celebres rex caelice*.<sup>29</sup> The strophe 'Nouies distincta / Pneumata sunt agmina / per te facta' allows Alan to insist on God's creation of

<sup>24</sup> On the thought and impact of Pseudo-Dionysius on medieval theology, see Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius*; Luscombe, 'Wyclif and Hierarchy', p. 233; Luscombe, 'The Hierarchies in the Writings'; and Piron, 'Deplatonising the Celestial Hierarchy'.

<sup>25</sup> On the primacy of order in the scholastic understanding of the world, see Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World*, p. 72.

<sup>26</sup> Alan of Lille, *Sermo in die Sancti Michaelis*, p. 250: 'De hoc ordine erunt sancti illi qui soli contemplatione dediti vacant amori solius Dei'.

<sup>27</sup> Alan of Lille, *Sermo in die Sancti Michaelis*, p. 251: 'Est alius ordo qui huic destinatur officio ut arceat demones ne tantum nobis nocere possint quantum velint'.

<sup>28</sup> Alan of Lille, *Sermo in die Sancti Michaelis*, p. 251: 'De hoc ordine erunt qui suggestionibus diaboli viriliter resistere sciunt'.

<sup>29</sup> This sequence is also known as *Has celebres rex caelice*; for an analysis of this sequence and comments on Alan's exegesis of it, see Iversen, 'Supera agalmata'.

the angelic cohorts, and he points out that the angels were fashioned by God out of non-pre-existent matter so that they should rightfully be called 'creati' rather than 'facti'.<sup>30</sup> Alan argues that in this act of creation neither form nor matter was pre-existent but that one acted upon the other at the same moment through God's authority and without the assistance of any lesser cause ('sine ministerio inferioris cause') — that is, without any secondary generative principle, namely the Devil, such as dualists might posit.<sup>31</sup> Alan distinguishes between the processes of *creatio*, (naturalis) *generatio* or *procreatio*, and (artificialis) *factio*, singling out *creatio* as a divine act of creation from nothing ('ex nihilo') without any intermediary influence. This provides insight into the import of the term 'creati' as used to describe God's creation of all spiritual creatures in *Firmiter*. Alan's further explanation that 'creauit Deus celum et terram, id est spiritualem et corporalem naturam [...] et simul angelicam naturam' (God created heaven and earth, that is, spiritual and corporeal nature [...] and likewise angelic nature)<sup>32</sup> also appears to have been picked up in the wording of *Firmiter*: 'spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam uidelicet'.

For most of Alan's *Expositio*, the Devil is largely absent as a force. In explicating the angelic order of the Powers (*Potestates*), Alan notes how sometimes an 'adverse influence' ('pars aduersa'), which he glosses 'id est diabolus', intervenes to prevent humans from paying the reverence they owe: it is the office of the Powers to help resist such diabolic wiles. The 'problem of the Devil' is also evident in Alan's description of the office of the angelic Virtues who are to perform miracles contrary to the order of nature in order to show humans the authority of God over all created things. This, Alan declares, is in direct refutation of the claims of 'certain heretics' that only nature can be at work in worldly matters.<sup>33</sup>

However, the Devil comes to the fore when Alan has to exegete the name of Michael the archangel who is described as a 'satrap' in the sequence *Ad celebres*. This leads Alan to discuss the battle of Michael against the apostate angels in the Book of Revelations (Rev. 12. 4), where he notes that Michael vanquished not only 'angeli mali', sending them into the cloudy air ('aera caliginosum'), but especially Lucifer, the dragon ('maxime Lucifer, draco ille') who dragged down the third part of the stars (that is, the other angels) with him. He adds that it will be Michael's office on the Day of Judgment to thrust down 'Lucifer and his accomplices' ('Luciferum eiusque complices') into Hell.<sup>34</sup> While these words would appear to set up Lucifer as the operative head of the demons, particularly through the use of the possessive 'eius', Alan

<sup>30</sup> Alan of Lille, *Expositio prosae de angelis*, p. 198.

<sup>31</sup> Alan of Lille, *Expositio prosae de angelis*, p. 199.

<sup>32</sup> Alan of Lille, *Expositio prosae de angelis*, p. 199.

<sup>33</sup> Alan of Lille, *Expositio prosae de angelis*, p. 209: 'Quorundam hereticorum est opinio nullam causam rerum preter rerum naturas in inferioribus operari, quod falsum est'.

<sup>34</sup> Alan of Lille, *Expositio prosae de angelis*, pp. 212–13. Alan repeats this wording at the end of his text: 'post diem iudicii [...] cum Lucifer detrudetur in infernum cum angelis eius' (p. 217).

also makes a subtle move to undercut this hierarchy by arguing that Michael's name is to be understood as 'Who is as God?', because in destroying 'the demon' ('demonem', singular) Michael showed that no being is equal to God and no being should rise up through pride as though equal to God.<sup>35</sup>

It is, however, in his *Hierarchia* that Alan makes his boldest and most ingenious leap in erasing the figure of Lucifer from any consideration of demons. In this short text, which runs to only a few folios in each of its exemplars, Alan analyses the nine orders of angels, before making an unprecedented move. After describing the office of the highest order of angels, the Seraphim, Alan surprises his readers with the declaration that 'Opposed to this order is a disordered order of demons, or, if I speak more truly, an "anti-order", who are assigned to this office, that they should draw humans away from the love of God and neighbour, and seduce them to the love of the world'.<sup>36</sup> Alan describes 'that gathering of demons' ('iste conuentus demonum') through the 'made-up term' ('ficto vocabulo') of 'anti-seraphim'. He then proceeds to investigate all nine angelic orders, in each case naming the anti-order of demons which opposes it.

Alan describes the demons within each demonic order as a 'community', or to put it more negatively, a 'horde' ('conuentus'). His point in doing so is subtle but clear: there are no pre-eminent individuals amongst the demons in any of the nine orders, including the highest demonic order, the so-called 'anti-seraphim'. Just as in Alan's *De fide*, where he argued that if all demons were coeternal then there could be no pre-existent malignant creative principle, so here in the *Hierarchia* Alan suggests that if all demons are coequal within their separate orders then there can be no pre-eminent demonic creative principle.

Alan is of course aware that he is playing a little fast and loose with the concept of 'hierarchy' here. In Pseudo-Dionysius's original text, it is made clear that a hierarchy is fundamentally a sacred order, a divine arrangement, which has as its goal 'to enable beings to be as like as possible to God and to be at one with him. A hierarchy has God as its leader of all understanding and action [...]. A hierarchy bears in itself the mark of God'.<sup>37</sup> Alan accordingly acknowledges at the outset of his *Hierarchia* that 'Ierarchia est legitimum dominice nature deiformis ordine, scientia, actione, dominium' (Hierarchy is the lawful oversight of a Godly nature created in the image of the Lord according to order, knowledge, and action).<sup>38</sup> This is why Alan hedges about

<sup>35</sup> Alan of Lille, *Expositio prosae de angelis*, p. 213: 'Unde ab hoc ministerio spiritus ille censetur Michael, id est: Quis ut Deus? quia in destruendo demonem, ostendit Deo nullum esse simile et equalem, ne quis per superbiam Deo quasi ipsi equalis insurgat'.

<sup>36</sup> Alan of Lille, *Hierarchia Alani*, p. 230: 'Huic oppositus est ordo demonum inordinatus, immo, ut verius loquar, "exordo", qui huic officio sunt deputati, ut homines arceant ab amore Dei et proximi, et inuitent ad amorem mundi'.

<sup>37</sup> Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, p. 154.

<sup>38</sup> Alan of Lille, *Hierarchia Alani*, p. 223. Similarly, in his *Expositio prosae de angelis*, Alan declares: 'Ierarchia est legitimum nature rationalis dominium' (p. 202) and in his *Summa 'Quoniam homines'*: 'Gerarchia est rerum rationabilium et sacrarum ordinata potestas in

his discussion of the demonic hierarchies with overt admissions of, and indeed apologies for, the novelty of the concept, describing the orders as 'disordered' ('inordinatus') anti-orders ('exordo') which can only be described by invented terminology ('ficto vocabulo').<sup>39</sup>

Yet once he has defended the legitimacy of his concept of the demonic anti-orders in this way, Alan can deal a major blow against dualist heresy. Not only does the existence of demonic hierarchies deny the possibility that one demon was a pre-eminent creative principle, since all demons exist in cohorts of equals, it also proves that God is the overarching commander of the universe. This is because even the evil aspects in the world, such as demons, naturally conform themselves to the sacred and divine architecture of a hierarchy which has, by definition, God at its head.<sup>40</sup> Alan then uses the demonic anti-hierarchies to attack dualist heretics directly. In describing the anti-archangels, Alan argues that their office is to suggest the errors of heresy to humans, and the humans associated with this order of demons are those heretics who invent abominable lies about God.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the anti-angels are those demons who prompt humans with lesser untruths about God, and the humans associated with this order are the fools who are led astray by the heresiarchs.<sup>42</sup>

Analysis of Alan of Lille's writings on angels and demons therefore brings us an insight into the concerns and complex theological manoeuvrings that were at play in the drafting of *Firmiter* in Lateran IV. It would appear that Alan's writings — including not only the obvious source, his *De fide catholica*, but some of his more minor works on angels as well — were highly influential upon the wording of this canon. *Firmiter* particularly reflects Alan's concern to dethrone Lucifer and to institute an equality amongst the demons that would proscribe any individual one of them being seen as a pre-eminent creative power.

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inferioribus debitum retinens dominatum' (p. 280) and 'Unde gerarchia dicitur quasi sacri principatus, a gera quod interpretatur sacrum, et archos quod principatus dicitur' (p. 281).

39 Some decades later, Thomas Aquinas would deal with the question of demonic orders and precedence in Pars 1 of his *Summa theologiae* (completed by c. 1268). One of the arguments he adduces against the idea is that 'it is never found that [demons] are called Seraphim, or Thrones, or Dominations' (*ST*, 1, Q. 109 a. 1 arg. 3). Thomas argues that demons cannot hold such names because of their sacred meanings: the Seraphim are so called because they burn with the fire of holy love, the Thrones are named from their divine dwelling, and so forth (*ST*, 1, Q. 109 a. 1 ad 3).

40 Thomas argues that demons are in hierarchical orders not by reason of their own justice, but according to the justice of a God who orders all things (*ST*, 1, Q. 109 a. 2 ad 1). Indeed, he suggests, for demons precedence does not bring greater good, but greater evil, because to be pre-eminent in evil is to be pre-eminent in wretchedness (*ST*, 1, Q. 109 a. 2 ad 3).

41 Alan of Lille, *Hierarchia Alani*, p. 235: 'ille conuentus demonum qui hominibus abominabiles heresum errores suggestur. De eorum conuentu erunt illi heretici qui abominabilia documenta de Deo fingunt'.

42 Alan of Lille, *Hierarchia Alani*, p. 235: 'conuentus demonum qui minus abominabilia, tamen falsa de Deo hominibus suggestur. De hoc ordine erunt minores heretici qui per maiores decipiuntur'.

## William of Auvergne and the Demonic Hierarchies

In the decades following Lateran IV, however, the difficulties, and indeed the dangers, inherent in the concept of the demonic hierarchies became increasingly evident.<sup>43</sup> One text to deal with the problem was William of Auvergne's *De universo* (*On the Universe of Creatures*), written between 1231 and 1236.<sup>44</sup> As Alan E. Bernstein notes, this text was intended 'to explain the right relationship of the visible to the invisible world' and so counteract contemporary dualist tendencies.<sup>45</sup> Here William adds to the number of hierarchies, which already included the angelic, the ecclesiastic, and, following Alan, the demonic, by noting that he had long been put in mind of a temporal kingdom equally well ordered and organized (II.II.112.964aG).<sup>46</sup> He articulates how this secular realm might be distributed into the requisite nine orders, but — and here is where the problem arises — at the top of the nine orders sits a king. Certainly this king is intended only to be the exemplar and paradigm of the ultimate heavenly King (II.II.112.964bF), but there is no denying that as envisaged, this secular hierarchy has an overarching leader. Similarly, the nine ecclesiastic orders that William subsequently treats are overseen by the pope, who again stands in for the ultimate holy Ruler (II.II.113.965aC).<sup>47</sup> The difficulties this creates are readily apparent: If each hierarchy is topped by a supra-ordinal

43 Luscombe outlines in 'Wyclif and Hierarchy' how the hierarchies of Pseudo-Dionysius were also brought into play in political contentions throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; see also Luscombe, 'The Hierarchies in the Writings', p. 23: 'Hierarchical "league tables" multiplied, diversified and became contentious'.

44 Luscombe, 'The Hierarchies in the Writings', p. 22.

45 Bernstein, 'William of Auvergne and the Cathars', p. 274. Again, in contradiction of Chiu's thesis of the 'ivory-tower' nature of scholastic thought on dualism, Bernstein notes William's concerns to write texts (such as popular sermons) that would speak to non-university audiences about matters pertaining to dualist heresies: see pp. 274–80.

46 'Scito, quod tempore adolescentiae meae, cum cogitarem de sacris istis principatibus, & ordinibus, incidit mihi cogitatus de regno terrae bene ordinato, ac decenter disposito'. All references to William's *De universo* are to the facsimile of the 1674 edition; citations in brackets are to principal part, part, chapter number, and page reference including column (a or b) and position in column; all translations are my own. I am currently preparing a translation entitled *On the Universe of Spiritual Creatures: A Translation of William of Auvergne's 'De universo', IIa–IIae, IIIa–IIIae on Angels and Demons* for publication by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in their series St Michael's Mediaeval Translations. For an introduction to William's *De universo*, see William of Auvergne, *The Providence of God Regarding the Universe*, pp. 11–27, and William of Auvergne, *The Universe of Creatures*, pp. 13–29. On William's life and thought more generally, see William of Auvergne, *The Trinity, or the First Principles*, pp. 1–57. For a comprehensive coverage of William's thought and contemporary impact, see the collected essays in Teske, *Studies in the Philosophy of William of Auvergne* and in Morenzoni and Tilliette, eds, *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne*, and de Mayo, *The Demonology of William of Auvergne*.

47 Luscombe notes that William's ecclesiastical orders reflect the focus in Lateran IV on the Church 'as an ordered pyramid containing at the top a busy papal court': 'The Hierarchies in the Writings', p. 22.

figure, who is the head of the demonic hierarchies? And if the role of the head of a hierarchy is to prefigure God — since William notes (as we have seen Alan do above) that the term ‘hierarchy’ is drawn from the Greek and means ‘sacer principatus’ (II.II.112.963bC) — how can this be the role of the head of the demonic hierarchies?

Unlike Alan, William cannot simply disappear the Devil from his text. On the contrary, earlier in the *De universo*, William had devoted a chapter to the question of why God had originally created one pre-eminent angel who excelled all others in knowledge and virtue. William confirms that this angel was created without peer or equal, but argues that this singularity was because God foresaw and foreknew this angel’s fall and determined it was better to have only one such angel fall than many (II.II.11.854aH).<sup>48</sup> This chapter walks a theological tightrope: on the one hand, the paratextual material in the marginal glosses of the 1674 edition insist on the uniqueness of the angel Lucifer;<sup>49</sup> on the other, William is careful to emphasize that Lucifer was and remains a *created* being. Thus in the three columns of text that this chapter occupies in the folio facsimile edition, the word ‘create’ appears over thirty times, including the nouns ‘creatio’ and ‘creatura’, four instances of the past participle ‘creatus’, eight inflexions of the verb ‘creo’ plus a gerundive, and twenty references to God as ‘creator’.

This position leaves William with two problems when he comes to deal with the angelic and demonic hierarchies later in his text. First, because there was only ever one pre-eminent angel created, who has now fallen to become prince of the demons, the current angelic orders cannot have a pre-eminent angel at their head. William addresses this situation through some creative definition. He argues that the concept of the ‘sacer principatus’ which defines a hierarchy can apply to all nine orders of angels equally and communally with regard to their sublimity and excellence over all other creatures (II. II.112.963bC–D), so each individual angel can be termed a prince.<sup>50</sup> There is therefore (no longer) one pre-eminent angel, nor any need for one.

William’s second problem is the putative position of Lucifer as the head of the demonic hierarchies. But before dealing with this he needs to address,

48 ‘Placuit creatori benedicto angelum illum primum nobilissimum in illa excellentia scientiarum, & virtutum naturalium creare, in qua nec consortem, nec parem habuit [...]. Verum, quoniam prævidit, atque prænovit illum pervertendum, & in tantam malitiam ruiturum, tolerabilius judicavit illum solum ex tanta altitudine casurum, quam multos.’

49 For example, ‘De casu primi angelii, & quare non creavit Deus plures tales’; ‘Quod casus primi angeli profuit aliis ad humilitatem’; ‘Quod excellentiae quandoque corrumput’; ‘Quod non fuit creandus nisi unus angelus ita perfectus, sicut fuit Lucifer’.

50 ‘Communiter igitur sacros principatus vocat omnes hujusmodi substantias [...] principatus vero propter sublimitatem, & præcellentiam, quæ est eis super alias creaturas [...]. Principatus autem non immerito vocatur sacra illa congregatio, non solum illius ordinis, sed etiam omnium, id est, novem antedictorum [...]. Quanto fortius igitur tota illa sancta militia novem ordinum sacer principatus non immerito cognominatur, in qua unusquisque princeps est’.

as Alan did, the issue of demons being able to form orders at all, given their malignity and aversion to right. William is aware that it is something of a contradiction to say that evil can exist in ordered form, and so, like Alan, he deals directly with the novelty of the thought, arguing that there appear to be orders amongst evil spirits, 'if however there can be orders amongst such, and not rather perversity and confusion, equally to be abhorred and ridiculed' (II.III.10.1035bD).<sup>51</sup> William then cites Alan, though not by name ('Opinabitur autem fortasse aliquis'), on the designation of the demonic orders which are counter to the angelic ones as anti-seraphim and so forth, arguing that these anti-orders constitute a synagogue of Satan. These names, he suggests, give evidence of the demons as God's apes, wanting to mimic the glory of God's Church, but able only to express their vast distance from it (II.III.10.1036aE).<sup>52</sup>

William cannot hide the fact that in his theology, the Devil is head of the demonic hierarchies, but he needs to contextualize this so that it does not appear to place the Devil in a position of power and influence. William begins by asserting that although the Devil is the 'prince of the evil spirits' ('princeps spirituum malignorum'), he does not have the power to alter the ordering of the demons as set by God, since this was not a power he possessed even when he was an angel in his unfallen state of fullest power and liberty — how much less could he act in this way now that he is bound and held captive in wretchedness? (II.III.8.1034bH).<sup>53</sup> Indeed, the prince of the demons is not only held in the same damnation as the other demons, but one that is even worse by as much as he excels them all in evil (II.III.10.1036aF).<sup>54</sup> William closes his argument by pointing out that the Devil is not to be understood as an underworld king or divinity, like Pluto, the god of Tartarus, since the Devil wields no power in Hell and is in fact himself detained there, bound,

<sup>51</sup> 'Hæ igitur causæ videntur esse ordinationis, & constitutionis ordinum in malignis spiritibus, si tamen ordines apud eos sunt, & non potius perversitas, atque confusio exhorrenda pariter, & ridenda.'

<sup>52</sup> 'Haec est igitur ordinatio Ecclesiae malignantium, & synagogae sathanæ [...] haec est ridiculosissima simia, & horrifica deformitate ignominiosissima, de ejus similitudine gloriosam Dei Ecclesiam principes malignorum spirituum gloriantur, ac si ista similitudo esset veri nominis similitudo, & non potius dissimilitudo distantiae.' William gives a much briefer account of the demonic anti-orders in a university sermon where he argues that there is order in Heaven, and confusion in Hell, while on earth there is a mixture of the two: 'in caelo litterali est ordo, in inferno autem est confusio. In medio autem, scilicet in mundo isto, est ordinis et confusio permixtio' — see William of Auvergne, 'Sermo episcopi Parisiensis', pp. 150, 151.

<sup>53</sup> 'Quare manifestum est, quod nec princeps spirituum malignorum mutare potuit ordinationem a creatore, etiam in his, qui cederunt, spiritibus, quoniam cum esset in sua primaria potestate, ac libertate constitutus, nec minimum omnium spirituum hujusmodi poterat vel deprimere, vel exaltare; quanto minus religatus, & captivus, & in miseria, in qua modo dignoscitur, hoc potest, vel potuit?'

<sup>54</sup> 'Cum ipse princeps eorum non solum in eadem damnatione sit, sed tanto etiam in majori, quanto constat plus esse sceleratum omnibus aliis'.

locked into a never-ending prison, and destined for eternal punishment (II. III.10.1036aF).<sup>55</sup> In this way, William was able to continue Alan's concept of the demonic hierarchies, but only at the cost of reinstating the Devil as its head, a move that required some fast theological footwork to justify.

### The Future of the Demonic Hierarchies and the Devil

What William's manipulation of the demonic hierarchies reveals, then, is that Alan's inspired invention of demonic anti-orders that was intended not only to dethrone, but effectively elide, Lucifer entirely was bound to fail. The Devil was too persistent a presence in Christian writings to be erased, while establishing him at the head of his own hierarchy of evil was dangerous, even if it were carefully hedged about with teachings drawn from scriptural and classical texts. It is not surprising, then, that the idea of the demonic anti-orders quickly faded from mainstream scholastic thought.<sup>56</sup>

By the same token, the ingenious move in *Firmiter* to depict Lucifer as only one of the demons and on the same level as the rest of them, through the use of a novel phrase drawn from Alan's *De fide catholica*, was ultimately overlooked by history: the formulation 'diabolus enim et demones alii' produced no ongoing textual tradition. On the contrary, history would move in the opposite direction. As the search for heresy across Europe intensified, as practitioners of learned magic fell under papal suspicion, and as women increasingly became implicated in the works of the Devil at large in the world,<sup>57</sup> the Devil grew in primacy and power, and the demons were firmly established as his minions and underlings.

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55 'Non enim potest iste Princeps malitiae Deus intelligi Tartarorum, cum ibi nihil potestatis habiturus sit cum illuc detineatur: ibi enim religandus est, & perpetuo carcere recludendus, ac aeternis suppliciis deputandus'.

56 However, the allocation of demons to their original angelic orders is still found in texts of learned magic in the later medieval period: for example, in 'La magie au carrefour des cultures dans la Florence du Quattrocento', Jean-Patrice Boudet discusses Renaissance texts dealing with the demon Bileth which describe him as being of the order of Powers but having social aspirations to the order of Thrones — which at least one author describes disparagingly as 'not gonna happen' ('minus credible') (pp. 320–23).

57 See for example Bailey, *Battling Demons*; Boureau, *Satan the Heretic*; Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*; and Stephens, *Demon Lovers*.

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## PART II

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# Pastoral Care and Lateran IV



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## Pastor as Teacher

### *A New Care of Souls*

Historians have long accepted the view that the universities played a vital role both in the making and in the publicizing of the pastoral reforms promulgated by Lateran IV.<sup>1</sup> As Jessalyn Bird's article in this volume also attests, through the sermons and the treatises, intellectual churchmen associated with the Universities of Paris and Oxford, in their capacity as either teachers or ex-students, denounced ignorant and negligent pastors; they stressed the importance and the need for preaching to the public and for instructing them in the faith. Studying the writings of the churchmen from Peter the Chanter's circle and in England the circle of William de Montibus they identified these concerns of medieval theologians and their theology as 'pastoral' as opposed to the non-pastoral, avant-garde, or speculative theology of previous centuries, which characteristically was interested in the secular sciences and liberal arts

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<sup>1</sup> The ground-breaking work in this field was Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, which argued for the pastoral mission of the schools through a reading of the corpus of theologians in Paris at the end of the twelfth century. Leonard E. Boyle supplemented this view of the schools' role in pastoral reform by calling attention to the *pastoralia* produced in the schools. For his collected essays, see Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law*. The importance of Boyle's work, in particular his establishment of the field of pastoral care, has been discussed by Goering, 'Leonard E. Boyle and the Invention of Pastoralia'. See also the preface of Duggan, Greatrex, and Bolton, eds, *Omnia Disce*. In his first scholarly article, Boyle talked of pastoral reform as a 'generous effort on the part of the prelates to provide [...] a better-educated clergy who could bring the laity to a reasonable understanding of the essentials of Christian belief and practice'. Boyle, 'The "Oculus Sacerdotis" and Some Other Works of William of Pagula', p. 81. Goering, *William de Montibus*, illustrated Baldwin and Boyle's arguments by focusing on an English scholar; see pp. 37 and 40 for the identification of William's work as pastoral.

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as well as the Bible.<sup>2</sup> Leonard Boyle famously coined the term *pastoralia* to cover the works on *ars praedicandi*, confession and penance manuals, and books for general catechism. The historiography increasingly identified the thirteenth century as a century of pastoral revival or renewal.<sup>3</sup>

But what exactly did this reform target? The medieval writings of the pastorally conscious churchmen focused on three essential points: preaching, hearing confessions, and administration of sacraments.<sup>4</sup> Indeed the kind of writings produced in this period, the *pastoralia*, focused overwhelmingly on preaching and confession, and to a lesser degree on the sacraments. Alan of Lille and Thomas of Chobham wrote *summae confessorum* and the first *ars praedicandi* books. William de Montibus, who went to Lincoln from Paris and died in 1213, wrote *Distinctiones*, which served as an aid in composing sermons, and works such as *Peniteas cito peccator* on penance. The Fourth Lateran Council has been regarded as a council initiating pastoral reform precisely for its 'pastoral categories [...] i.e. (1) preaching, (2) penance and (3) instruction about the correct celebration of the Church's rites, rituals and sacraments'.<sup>5</sup> Scholars saw three canons of the Council, namely, Canons 10, 11, and 21, as proof of the Council's pastorality.<sup>6</sup> Canon 10 asks busy bishops in large dioceses to appoint helpers who can preach to the people; Canon 11 asks metropolitan cathedrals to employ a theologian to teach the clergy; and of course, rather famously, we have Canon 21, which for the first time obliges everyone to confess once a year to one's own priest.<sup>7</sup> Another famous Canon, no. 27, on the instruction of ordinands, opens with the words 'that care of souls is the art of arts'. Furthermore, right around this time emerge friars, Dominicans and Franciscans, who were particularly interested in preaching and hearing confessions, and precisely so because both of the orders were administered by men educated in the University of Paris and trained in the scholastic vision of pastoral care.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse*, p. 137. On the Parisian community of scholars and their theology, see also Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris* and Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*.

<sup>3</sup> For an excellent survey of the historiographical evolution of the study of medieval pastoral care, see William H. Campbell's recent work *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*, pp. 9–17.

<sup>4</sup> Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 4, cites a number of churchmen to argue for this threefold definition of pastoral care becoming a consensus in the thirteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> Goering, *William de Montibus*, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> See for example, Rossetti, 'La pastorale nel IV lateranense', pp. 197–222, and Maccarrone, 'Cura animarum' e 'parochialis sacerdos' nelle costituzioni del IV concilio lateranense', p. 106. The standard edition of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council is *The General Councils of Latin Christendom*, ed. by García y García and others.

<sup>7</sup> For this canon and its links to the works of Peter the Chanter, Alan of Lille, and Gratian, see Larson, 'Lateran IV's Decree on Confession'.

<sup>8</sup> On the influence of the Parisian-trained masters — who have served as provincial and general ministers from the 1240s onwards — on the religious vocation of the Franciscan Order, see my *The Poor and the Perfect*, ch. 3. For the Dominicans, see Mulchahey, 'First the Bow Is Bent in Study... '.

The main purpose of the present article is to point out that this view of pastoral care coming out of the medieval Parisian intellectual milieu places an overwhelming emphasis on the priest's role as a teacher, which obscures the rich and varied content that pastoral care entailed in the preceding centuries. Moreover, the understanding of a 'pastor' as a sole individual, namely the parish priest — the 'sacerdos proprius' of Lateran IV — does not take into account the differences in pastoral organization in various parts of Europe, notably the considerable difference between Gaul and Italy.<sup>9</sup> In medieval Italy for example, where the pastoral organization was predicated on the system of baptismal churches (i.e. *pieve*), it would be quite difficult to pinpoint who the pastor is for the faithful, as the pastoral service offered to the communities of faithful was distributed between the priests of the *pieve* and those of the dependent churches.

## The Content of Pastoral Care

Even a brief history of the pastoral care is such a vast and complex topic that so far no scholar has risen up to the challenge of producing a monograph on the subject.<sup>10</sup> I will therefore confine myself to give an impression of that history in very broad strokes.

In the New Testament, some of the most crucial messages of Jesus Christ are announced by employing the shepherd image, blending his functions as shepherd and saviour: His power to save,<sup>11</sup> his death and resurrection,<sup>12</sup> and his presiding over Judgement Day.<sup>13</sup> Although there is a very long history of the use of the shepherd metaphor in connection with governance going back to the ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures, the shepherd image in Christianity is much more than a helpful figurative aid to represent leadership

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<sup>9</sup> See the discussion on the use of the term 'parish' where he refers to the 'vecchio problema della non coincidenza fra l'organizzazione territoriale della cura d'anime del Regnum Francorum e quella del regnum Langobardorum' in Ronzani, 'L'organizzazione spaziale della cura d'anime', pp. 543–44.

<sup>10</sup> There are, however, volumes of collected articles such as Stansbury, ed., *A Companion to Pastoral Care*; Evans, ed., *A History of Pastoral Care*; and books that deal with pastoral care in a particular time frame or geography such as *La pastorale della Chiesa*; Rentinck, *La cura pastorale in Antiochia nel IV secolo*; Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France*; Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*.

<sup>11</sup> 'Very truly I tell you, I am the gate for the sheep. All who have come before me are thieves and robbers, but the sheep have not listened to them. I am the gate; whoever enters through me will be saved. They will come in and go out, and find pasture [...]. I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep.' John 10, 7–11.

<sup>12</sup> "'You will all fall away,' Jesus told them, 'for it is written: 'I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered.'" Mark 14, 27; also Matt. 26, 31.

<sup>13</sup> 'All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate the people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats.' Matt. 25, 32.

or guidance.<sup>14</sup> If Christ's mission was simply leading or ruling, then, by all means, much more suitable terms and allegories than shepherd could be found. The shepherd figure is so prominent in the New Testament because the particular process of salvation is predicated on bringing people together, making them into a community of God, that is, a flock, a *Gottesvölk*, especially by including those who go astray, and leading them towards eternal bliss, that is, the green pasture.<sup>15</sup> It is through shepherding, and shepherding alone, that people can be saved. In the early canonical interpretations by theologians such as Gregory Nazianzen, Theodore, John Chrysostom, Cyril, and Augustine, and the early Christian writings including several apocrypha, the biblical passages centering around the allegory of shepherd were deemed central to the understanding of redemption.<sup>16</sup>

Had the power to save remained strictly only with Christ, there would be no pastoral power observable on earth, but the early Christian writers steeped in biblical exegesis understood this power to have a transferable quality, one that is achieved with relative ease. Christ passed his power on to his apostles. They, in turn, passed on their power to others designated by the local Christian communities.<sup>17</sup> These men, who had the duty of taking care of the spiritual and practical needs of their communities, were called overseers, that is, bishops. The earliest Christian pastoral literature were those works delineating the duties of the office of the bishop; the third-century *Apostolic Tradition*, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, and the tenth Demonstration, *De Pastoribus*, of the Syriac writer Aphraat are among the most informative texts of the pre-Constantinian period.<sup>18</sup> The nature and scope of the pastoral office was already crystallized in these texts: Pastoral power comes from God, but even more, it is God's chosen mode of power. It is the governance of souls with a singular aim, salvation, and as such distinct from the political power that aims at earthly gains.<sup>19</sup> Pastoral power is transmissible from God to humans. Whoever accepts this power rules on behalf of God, and therefore needs to strive to be God-like, as perfect in virtue and character as humanly possible. The pastor is to be a repository of knowledge required for salvation and is charged with communicating this knowledge to his flock. He needs to oversee not only the spiritual needs of his flock but also the material needs, and to

<sup>14</sup> The literature on the shepherd metaphor is too rich to be cited in full, for a quick reference, see Anthonioz, 'The Lion, the Shepherd, and the Master of Animals'.

<sup>15</sup> I relied here on some of the ideas expressed in Arnold and others, eds, *Handbuch der Pastoraltheologie*, i, 15–16.

<sup>16</sup> Greer, 'The Good Shepherd', pp. 312–13. For a review of the shepherd image in the early Church, see Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, pp. 187–93.

<sup>17</sup> The relevant passage is Acts 6. 1–7, known as the Choosing of the Seven.

<sup>18</sup> Hippolytus, *On the Apostolic Tradition*, ed. by Stewart-Sykes. *The Didascalia apostolorum*, ed. by Stewart-Sykes. Demonstrations of Aphraat are edited in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by Schaff and Wace, xiii.

<sup>19</sup> Foucault writes with remarkable clarity about how pastoral power is distinct because it aims to rule men instead of the State. See his *Security, Territory, Population*, pp. 126–28.

pay particular attention to the disadvantaged members of the community such as the poor, the orphans, and the widows. Members of the Christian community are expected to make payments to the common coffer, from which the bishop and his clergy are supported, as well as the poor and anyone else who is in need.<sup>20</sup> Come the fourth century, Christian communities were now bigger and the monepiscopacy, where there is a single bishop for multiple Christian communities in urban areas, was becoming slowly the norm.<sup>21</sup> That meant the priests in smaller communities became the undershepherds by participating in the pastoral power of the bishop. The two important pastoral texts written in the fourth century, Gregory Nazianzen's *Second Oration* and John Chrysostom's *On the Priesthood*, treat the priest as well as the bishop as pastor.<sup>22</sup> They build on the previous ideas on the duties and status of the pastor as ruler of the community, while insisting that the pastor needs to establish a close relationship with each member of his flock to know their hearts, virtues and vices, and must devise a strategy of salvation unique to each subject's condition and strengths, a theme that Gregory I took up later in his *Book of Pastoral Rule*.

It is important to note here that the term *cura pastoralis*, which we translate normally as pastoral care is absent in any of these works mentioned thus far. Nor does any early Christian or Late Antique text ever attempt to give a definition of pastoral care, as noted by scholars. The reason for this absence is that the pastoral care is not just one aspect of the episcopal or priestly office. Rather it is indistinguishable from the entire office of the pastor: all ecclesiastical activities of bishops and priests aimed at salvation are pastoral. These contemporary documents bear no sign that their authors divided the duties of the highest clergy in terms such as pastoral, spiritual, practical, or administrative the way modern historians of episcopacy often do. Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, who studied the Late Antique documents, have come up with the following categories of pastoral care:

teaching (i.e. preaching, catechesis and private instruction); direction of daily life (e.g. counseling, confession); mission (the conversion of both 'pagans' and heretics, and the maintenance of orthodoxy); administration (e.g. the *audientia episcopalis*); intercession (e.g. prayer, the ransom of captives); the application of ritualized forms of care (e.g. penance, baptism); and, most familiarly, social welfare.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Schöllgen, *Die Anfänge der Professionalisierung des Klerus*.

<sup>21</sup> On the historical development of monepiscopacy, which in the Middle Ages and beyond became the norm, see Stewart, *The Original Bishops*.

<sup>22</sup> The English translation of the Second Oration is in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by Schaff and Wace, vii, 203–27. For the Greek text with Latin translation, see S. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio II*, ed. by Migne. For John Chrysostom, see Purves, *Pastoral Theology*, p. 44.

<sup>23</sup> Mayer, 'Patronage, Pastoral Care', p. 60. See also Allen and Mayer, 'Through Bishop's Eyes', particularly their conclusion at pp. 393–97.

By the time Pope Gregory I wrote his famous *Book of Pastoral Rule*, he could rely on a rich literature of what it meant to be a pastor of the people and how to save souls. Gregory seems to be the first, as far as I could find, to use the term *cura pastoralis*. Although it is commonly translated as pastoral care, *cura* in its contemporary Latin context more accurately signifies a 'charge' or 'office', which involves spiritual and material care but does so within the frame of a responsibility with a huge risk to the pastor's own soul since he had to give account of each and every soul to God. This is precisely why this charge is regarded as a burden as well as an honour not just by Gregory but by all pastoral documents mentioned above.<sup>24</sup> When Gregory talks of pastoral office, what he means is the office of bishop or the kind of priest who has taken the pastoral charge of a community of Christians, thus one aimed at saving the souls of others. He assumes a relatively small community where the pastor will have the means to intimately know each member of his flock. As Peter Brown aptly noted, 'It was the intimacy of the care of souls which concerned Gregory. He paid little attention in his treatise to public preaching. He gave no guidance how to give a sermon. What interested him, above all, was face-to-face spiritual guidance'.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, Pope Gregory I's approach to pastoral office is in accordance with what has been written before him. The ideal pastor was to penetrate the souls of his charges and heal any spiritual disease. He was also to provide for the material needs of their flock, since, if the faithful worried about their daily needs, they will not be able to pay attention to saving their souls.<sup>26</sup> It is important to note that Gregory refers to the pastor as *rector*, since pastorality was understood to be rulership of Christian people.

In fact, in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, we find that bishops strived to provide for the physical welfare of people, exhibiting an understanding of pastoral care where the physical and spiritual care are combined. This 'pastoral beneficence', to use Beck's term, included even negotiating tax remissions with the secular rulers so the townspeople can keep their possessions, building and maintaining of city walls, securing loans from princes to be distributed to the poor and destitute faithful, and arranging tax cuts for the impoverished population.<sup>27</sup> The construction of public works was yet another area which the bishops considered among their pastoral work. Venantius of Viviers, who held the episcopal see in 517–535 AD, oversaw the construction of houses

<sup>24</sup> Gregorius I, *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, ed. by Migne, col. 113A: 'Pastoralis curae me pondera fugere delitescendo voluisse, benigna, frater carissime, atque humili intentione reprehendis'.

<sup>25</sup> Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 208–09.

<sup>26</sup> 'There are some who undertake the care of the flock, but desire to be so at leisure for their own spiritual concerns as to be in no way occupied with external things. Such persons, in neglecting all care for what pertains to the body, by no means meet the needs of those who are put under them. [...] For, as we have said, the heart of the flock is set against preaching, if the care of external succour be neglected by the pastor'. Pope Gregory I, *The Book of Pastoral Rule*, Part II, Chapter 7.

<sup>27</sup> Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France*, pp. 320–21.

within his city and strengthened the city walls. Bishop Desiderius of Cahors (630–655 AD) procured artisans with the help of Bishop Caesarius of Clermont for the installation of an aqueduct to bring water to Cahors. In his letter to Caesarius, Desiderius made it clear that he sees this work contributing to the betterment of souls (*profectum animae*).<sup>28</sup> In 1035, the saintly Bishop Ermengol of Urgell lost his life while trying to build a bridge by his own hands over the River Segre in the Catalan Pyrenees.<sup>29</sup> The hagiographer who recounts this story relates his building the bridge for people to the bishop's spiritual work where he built a bridge to heaven.<sup>30</sup> In a similar vein, the eleventh-century archbishop of Salerno, Alfanus I, constructed churches as a defence strategy against the threat of Norman invasion, and in his extant writings he talked of a vision of the care of souls in which prelates are the soldiers of Christ. Protecting the Christian people in collaboration with princes and patron saints was a central pastoral act.<sup>31</sup> Scholars studying the later medieval religious tradition might be tempted to explain such episcopal efforts as an anomaly caused by the fall of the Roman Empire and its civil governance structures: the bishops had to step in out of necessity, not because they saw social welfare or protection as part of their pastoral duties.<sup>32</sup> But such a view overlooks the early development of pastoral rule in Late Antiquity. In the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Roman local governance structure was alive and kicking, bishops still took it onto themselves to respond to all needs of the faithful and acted as de facto rulers.<sup>33</sup>

With the coming of the Carolingian era, the priorities of the pastoral office seem to have undergone a change. The work accomplished in recent years on Carolingian pastoral care has focused on the education of clergy and laity, along with the administration of sacraments, as primary duties of the pastors.<sup>34</sup> In the manuscripts called miscellanies—so-called because they contain miscellaneous liturgical texts, sermons, and excerpts from

<sup>28</sup> Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France*, pp. 321–22.

<sup>29</sup> On the details of this story, see Bowman, 'The Bishop Builds a Bridge'.

<sup>30</sup> 'Non immerito igitur pontificis nomine Dei cultor fungebatur, quia si animarum salutem pontem parabat, quo iter in caelum dirigeretur, corporum etiam substantiae subiciens, pontem iter facientibus componere nitebatur'. Delehaye and Peeters, eds, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, p. 84. Bowman, 'The Bishop Builds a Bridge', p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> Ramseyer, 'Pastoral Care as Military Action', pp. 206–07.

<sup>32</sup> This was a comment of Miri Rubin, chair of the session in which I presented the original version of this paper.

<sup>33</sup> The classic work on the rise of bishops as rulers in Late Antiquity is Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*. See in particular her final chapter, 'Bishop as a New Urban Functionary'. For a concise summary of the practical reasons why bishops in the Late Roman Empire emerged as competition to the secular magistrates, see Slootjes, 'Governor Trumped by Bishop'.

<sup>34</sup> Notable studies are Julia Barrow's *The Clergy in the Medieval World* that looks more into the structural organization of churches in England rather than the content of pastoral care. Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord* examines specifically the episcopal statutes to understand the expectations from pastors.

pastoral literature—there were sections devoted to religious instruction.<sup>35</sup> Such handbooks for the pastoral clergy were produced within the intellectual milieu of cathedrals and therefore tend to focus on the liturgy of sacraments and model sermons. In one such miscellany, the ideal pastor is one who is humble, chaste, devoted to prayer for the souls of his folk. At the discursive level, at least, there seems to be no preoccupation with the pastor's role as a caretaker for the physical well-being of people.<sup>36</sup>

From Late Antiquity onwards, not only discourse but also the practice of pastoral care underwent significant changes. As mentioned above, the first big change was the delegation of the pastoral rule to the priests, with the bishop becoming the ruler of a larger community, often an entire city. The subsequent centuries witnessed the mushrooming of proprietary churches funded by a single family or a community with a hired priest offering the Eucharistic service, with baptism and confirmation still mostly in the monopoly of the bishop, except when the bishop allowed a church to have a baptismal font.<sup>37</sup> In monasteries, the pastor was the abbot or the abbess acting as a spiritual leader and counselor. In Italy, a system of sub-dioceses (*piviere*) centred around a baptismal church (*pieve*) with dependent daughter churches developed from the sixth century onwards with the archpriest of the *pieve* (*pievano*) practically acting like a bishop in his own sub-diocese.<sup>38</sup> In France, parish priests in churches with baptismal fonts offered most pastoral services.<sup>39</sup> The arrival of the friars in the historical scene complicated this picture even more, since friars offered penance, Mass, preaching, and even burial, but refused to take on the parish churches and be parish priests. Within this complex web of cathedrals, monasteries, and churches, with clergy occupying a variety of ecclesiastical offices offering pastoral services, it is extremely difficult to talk of a single 'pastor' for each Christian faithful.

## The Scholastic Turn in Pastoral Care

Decades before Lateran IV introduced the notion of *sacerdos proprius* as the sole pastor, the schoolmen attached to university centres revived the ancient category of the 'pastor' in the intellectual discourse without making it explicit to whom this singular pastor would correspond, given the realities of the contemporary Church. This new scholastic discourse on the pastor

<sup>35</sup> Keefe, *Water and the Word*; van Rhijn, 'The Local Church, Priests' Handbooks and Pastoral Care' and 'Manuscripts for Local Priests and the Carolingian Reform'; Paxton, 'Bonus liber'; Hen, 'Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests'.

<sup>36</sup> Hohman, 'Carolingian Sermons', pp. 327–31.

<sup>37</sup> The classic study on the subject is Wood, *The Proprietary Church*.

<sup>38</sup> See my forthcoming chapter 'Pieve and the Care of Souls.' Violante, 'Che cos'erano le Pievi?'

<sup>39</sup> Avril, 'A propos du proprius sacerdos'.

was heavily concerned with the ‘teaching’ aspect to the detriment of other pastoral acts: the care of the material needs of the laity, which loomed so large from the origins of Christianity through the early Middle Ages, disappeared completely from the discourse. Nor was there any mention of the kind of intimate, face-to-face spiritual guidance that Pope Gregory I advocated, as I will discuss in detail later. The teaching was to be done by way of public sermons and catechism. Alongside this overwhelming interest for public preaching and penance, through which the faithful would learn to about virtues and vices and how to distinguish between venal and mortal sins, the idea of teacher as shepherd crystallized. A doctor of theology, who did not formally hold a pastoral office as bishop or parish priest, was also considered a pastor on account of his teaching.

A prominent proponent of this new view of pastoral care was Maurice de Sully (d. 1196), the bishop of Paris from 1160 until his death. One of the sermons he preached to priests argues that a holy life, learning, and preaching are the three necessities of the pastoral office:

I speak to you, companions, brothers, and priests [...] you have heard already that the art of arts is governance of souls. And if this is true, indeed because it is true, it is necessary in every way that we inquire in what way we shall prevail to govern with dignity not only our souls but also many other souls that are entrusted to us; so that through this, we evade the eternal punishment and deserve to reach the prize of heavenly rebirth. It seems to us that three things are necessary in those who are constituted to the priestly office and are assigned especially to the care of souls: a holy life, orthodox learning, and continuous preaching.<sup>40</sup>

But there are many priests in the holy Church, who, despite having the power to bind and loose, have by no means the knowledge to discern. This is gravely painful and to be lamented. Therefore, my dear brothers, just as we accept the power in consecration and ordination, so let us busy ourselves to acquire learning through studying and reading lest it is wanting.<sup>41</sup>

40 ‘Vobis tamen loquor socii, fratres que sacerdotes, vobis inquam loquor quod sepius audistis quod scilicet ars est atrium regimen animarum. Quod si verum est, immo quia verum est, omnibus modis necesse est ut inquiramus qualiter non solum nostras sed et multas alias animas divinitus nobis commissas digne regere valeamus. Ut per hoc eterna penam evadere et ad supernae regenerationis bravium pervenire moreamur: Tria sunt ergo que necessaria videntur nobis in officio sacerdotali constitutis et regendis animabus specialiter designatis scilicet vita sancta, recta scientia, predicatione continua’: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus 222, fol. 1<sup>ra</sup>.

41 ‘Sed multi sunt sacerdotes infra sanctam ecclesiam, qui, etsi habent potentiam ligandi et solvendi, nequaquam tamen non habent scientiam discernendi. Unde graviter dolendum est et lugendum. Nos, ergo karissimi, sicut accepimus potentiam in consecrationem et ordinationem sicut habere satagamus scientiam ex studio, ex lectione ne quod absit’. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus 222, fol. 6<sup>ra</sup>.

We said that it is necessary for you who have the care of souls to have earnestness and constancy in preaching and in continuous learning because through these we must feed the flock of God commissioned to us.<sup>42</sup>

The *topos* of the 'Good Pastor', which up until the eleventh century was reserved exclusively to Christ, was now used for the pastor who teaches well, both by word and deed, but often the emphasis is more squarely on the word than the deed. The biblical image of feeding the lamb was now primarily explained as feeding with words, and Christ the Shepherd transformed into Christ the Teacher. The act of teaching was understood to be a part of the imitation of Christ. The most striking source of evidence for this new view of 'pastor as teacher' are the commentaries and sermons on the *topos* of 'good shepherd' (*pastor bonus*) mentioned in John 10. 11.<sup>43</sup> The twelfth century constitutes a little renaissance with respect to the revival and growing popularity of this particular *topos*. There are two reasons for that. Firstly, while in the period prior to the twelfth century, commentaries on the Gospel of John were scarce, during the twelfth century and after, numerous theologians wrote a commentary on John, thereby providing also their exegesis on the theme of the good shepherd.<sup>44</sup> Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, with the dawn of the twelfth century, it became customary to write sermon cycles using themes from the lectionary. Therefore, there are many extant sermons dating from 1150 onwards on John 10. 11, which was normally preached on the Second Sunday after Easter.<sup>45</sup> In fact, this particular theme was one of the most popular sermon themes of the Middle Ages. There are around 290 unique 'I am the good pastor' sermons, surviving in more than two thousand manuscripts.<sup>46</sup> In the 'good pastor' sermons originating from schools, almost invariably, the main activity of a shepherd, that is, feeding the flock, is identified with feeding the people with God's word. Thus, the good pastor is one who teaches.

One of the most prominent schoolmen of the early thirteenth century and the chancellor of the University of Paris, Philip the Chancellor (1160–1236),

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<sup>42</sup> 'Dilectissimi, instanciam predicationis atque constanciam ac doctrine continue vobis curam animarum habentibus esse necessariam diximus, quia per eam gregem domini cum nobis commissum pascere debemus'. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus 222, fol. 7<sup>ra</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> A recent article by Florence Coste, 'Le silence des agneaux', utilizes these sermons to reflect on the pastoral ideology of the mendicant orders.

<sup>44</sup> Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, p. 95, suggests that the popularity of Augustine's sermons on the Book of John explains the absence of any significant commentary for seven hundred years until Rupert of Deutz wrote his.

<sup>45</sup> John 10. 11 was one of the suggested readings for the Second Sunday after Easter in the lectionary composed by Gregory the Great. However, it is not clear to what extent it was employed. According to Clemens, the first lectionary with a representation of Good Shepherd for the Second Sunday after Easter is the St Erentrud lectionary (Munich) of 1140. Clemens, 'Searching for the Good Shepherd', p. 23.

<sup>46</sup> These figures are based on my counting and approximate calculations of the theme index in Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones*.

identifies the defence of the sheep with with defence of orthodoxy against heretics and feeding of the sheep with teaching:

Among all the acts of the pastor, three are the most important. First is that the good pastor gives his soul for his sheep. Second he feeds the sheep. And third he goes before them. He gives his soul for his sheep, that is, he defends them. He feeds the sheep, that is, he teaches them. He goes before them, that is, he surpasses them in dignity as well as in his way of life and learning. He defends the sick. He teaches those in error; he precedes and leads the wanderers. He defends by the shield of the truth; he teaches and feeds by instructing through preaching; he leads through the example of his way of life.<sup>47</sup>

Quite explicit is the sermon of Roger of Salisbury (d. 1247), the bishop of Bath and Wells, in making teaching the main activity of the pastor. 'I am the good pastor etc. And if this were said of Christ, then it can be understood of every prelate and doctor of the Church. This means, therefore, that the doctor of the Church is called pastor'.<sup>48</sup> What is striking in the exposition of Roger of Salisbury is that it renders all teachers of Christian theology in the schools and writers of theological works pastors. As teaching of the Scriptures becomes the quintessential pastoral activity, the teacher becomes a pastor, even when he does not officially hold a pastoral office.

### A New and Unusual Iconography: Christ as Teacher in the French Cathedrals

Concomitant with these ideas emphasizing the pastorality of the teaching of Christ and the remodelling of care of souls as essentially revolving around the acts of teaching and preaching are the developments in the iconography of Christ. It is quite remarkable that a new iconographical programme featuring Christ as Teacher emerges in the early thirteenth century in the four northern French cathedrals with strong connections to the great theologians of the late twelfth century: Chartres, Amiens, Reims, and Bourges. A bearded Christ appears as a trumeau figure depicted with a long tunic like that of the philosophers. He is holding a book, presumably the Gospel, in his left

<sup>47</sup> 'Io.x. actus boni pastoris inter omnis actus tres sunt principales. Primum est quod bonus pastor ponit animam suam pro ovibus suis. Secundus quod oves pascit. Tertius quod ante eas vadit. Animam suam pro oves suas ponit. Quod eas defendit. Oves pascit. Quod eas instruit. Ante eas vadit. Dum sicut dignitate ita scientia et vita precellit. Defendit infirmos, instruit erroneos, precedet et ducat vagos, defendit per veritatis presidium, instruit et pascit per predicationis documentum. Ante vadit per conversationis exemplum'. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3740, fol. 146<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> 'Ego sum pastor bonus et cetera. Et si istud de Christo dicatur, tamen de quolibet prelato sive doctore ecclesie intelligi potest. Quod autem doctor ecclesiae pastor dicatur': Roger of Salisbury, *Sermones de tempore*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 37, fol. 298b.

hand, and his right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing. In the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Chartres, Christ as Teacher is found as a trumeau at the central portal of the south porch (Fig. 1), and on stained-glass window 3 of the central apse.<sup>49</sup> Chartres is well known for its highly reputable school, where a number of famous scholars were active.<sup>50</sup> In Amiens, similar to Chartres, Christ as Teacher is a trumeau figure at the central portal of the west façade (Fig. 2). Due to the youthful appearance of Christ's face, this sculpture is also known as 'Beau Dieu'. This particular sculpture programme is dated to 1225–1240, during the time when Jean d'Abbeville was the archdeacon of the cathedral. Jean was a very reputable preacher in his own time, and one of the earliest schoolmasters to write a sermon on the theme of *pastor bonus*. The Christ the Teacher figure in the cathedral of Bourges seems to be heavily influenced by the one from Amiens. In Bourges too, we find this figure over the central entrance of the cathedral on the pillar separating the two doors. There is, however, disagreement among art historians whether this figure is of medieval or modern making.<sup>51</sup> In the cathedral of Reims, the same figure of Christ the Teacher is located in the exterior of the chevet on a wall buttress accompanied by eleven angels. William W. Clark interprets the unusual sculptural programme as a reminder of the teaching and preaching duties of the canons.<sup>52</sup>

Réau suggested that this type of iconography of Christ as the 'master of the truth' derives from the statues of philosophers in the Graeco-Roman sculptural tradition.<sup>53</sup> According to Réau, the main difference between Western iconography of Christ as Teacher and the Eastern tradition, where it was more prevalent, is that in the West this image borrowed from the iconography of Christ Triumphant: Christ's feet trample the four animals from Psalm 91 (the lion, the dragon, the asp, and the basilisk), which represent the spirit of evil.<sup>54</sup> My own research into art databases and literature has so far revealed no such iconography in any other period and anywhere in the Latin West other than northern France. The use of Christ the Teacher in the northern French cathedrals invites a connection to the ideas circulating in the northern French schools, in particular at the University of Paris, concerning the teaching of Christ.

<sup>49</sup> Art historians have disagreed on the interpretation of this Christ figure. Sauerländer argued that the suggestion of this figure as Christ the Teacher is wrong. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, p. 236. However, Katzenellenbogen suggested this to be the Teacher figure surrounded by the twelve apostles who spread his teaching and established the Church. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, pp. 79–80, 86–87.

<sup>50</sup> Jeauneau and Desmarais, *Rethinking the School of Chartres*.

<sup>51</sup> Vignon, *The Shroud of Christ*, pp. 93–94, suggested that this is an inferior medieval copy of the 'Beau Dieu' of Amiens. Sauerländer thinks, however, that it is modern.

<sup>52</sup> Clark, 'Teachers, Preachers, and the Good Shepherd'.

<sup>53</sup> Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, ii.2, 41–42.

<sup>54</sup> Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, ii.2, 42.



FIGURE 1. Christ as Teacher,  
Cathedral of Notre-Dame,  
south porch; trumeau,  
central portal Chartres,  
France, 1212–1220. Copyright:  
Shutterstock Images. Item  
ID: 52470655.

The theological discourse around the time of Lateran IV represents the ideal pastor not as one who looks after the poor and the sick, who makes sure that his flock is fed, who is on time to give the last rites to a dying faithful, or who chants the daily and nightly hours of the Divine Office. Rather the ideal pastor is a teacher who feeds the faithful with words, with the Gospels and doctrine. Perhaps the most important change is in the form of this teaching. In the works of Gregory of Nazianzen and Pope Gregory I, teaching was individualized according to the needs, profession, status, and education of every member of the fold. It was imperative for the pastor to know intimately every member of the flock and give them spiritual advice accordingly. Hence, Gregory I considers more than forty categories of people in his *Book of Pastoral Rule* and offers advice to pastors on how to approach to each group. The teaching was not simply conceived in terms of sermons preached to the entire community, but rather providing direction to each and every soul taking into account the individual challenges they faced. Obviously, this

could be done only by the pastoral leader of a rather small community, be it an early Christian community, a monastery, or a parish. The pastor needed to be resident and live actively among his flock so that he could observe each one of them. In the new pastoral vision of the thirteenth century, individual pastoral guidance is confined to the confessional booth. There the pastor offers spiritual direction to a single faithful, but only based on the sin the faithful committed or the temptations they are going through. Yet, this is a far cry from the kind of care Pope Gregory I advocated, where the pastor not only knows the sins of his sheep, but also their station, education, profession, age, wealth, etc. The ideal pastoral care is to devise a custom-tailored plan for each member of the flock that will ensure their salvation. The bishops of the early Christian and Late Antique era were particularly concerned with the varying levels of education in their community, when it came to explaining the Scriptures to the faithful. Preaching a sermon to a whole community would be insufficient, even when the preacher tailored his sermon to the social status or profession of a particular group as in the *sermones ad status*. It is this individual care that disappears from the theological discourse along with the care for material needs.

The consequences of the scholastic turn were perhaps gradual but significant in carving a new content of pastoral care based on administration of sacraments, preaching, and penance. The fourteenth-century *Handbook for Curates* (*Manipulus curatorum*), written by Guido of Monte Rochen, consisted of three parts dedicated to sacraments and their administration, the sacrament of penance, and basic catechesis through preaching.<sup>55</sup> An anonymous fourteenth-century treatise titled *Informatorius simplicium sacerdotum in cura animarum* (Instruction for the simple priest concerning the care of souls) contained only advice on how to recognize and evaluate the sins of the faithful during a confession and assign them the right penance.<sup>56</sup>

There were practical consequences too. Increasingly, the gifted scholars of theology in the universities either refused or were unwilling to leave their teaching posts to take pastoral offices, given the prevalent idea that teaching in itself was the supreme pastoral act. In 1235 Robert Grosseteste, then the bishop of Lincoln, was writing to William of Cerd, a master teaching in Paris, to convince him to take up the pastoral office that he was assigned in the diocese of Lincoln. 'We have received your letter, which says that since you do not wish to lecture in Paris and have the care of souls at the same time, you prefer to pursue lecturing for the time being rather than to shoulder the burden of pastoral care.'<sup>57</sup> Three years later, Grosseteste was writing to another scholar, Thomas of Wales, for the same reason. 'If you love saving souls [...] ]

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<sup>55</sup> Guido of Monte Rochen, *Handbook for Curates*.

<sup>56</sup> Bologna, University Library, MS 129.

<sup>57</sup> Grosseteste, *Epistole*, ed. by Luard, pp. 57–59, no. 13. The letter has also been translated in Grosseteste, *Letters*, trans. by Mantello and Goering, pp. 88–90.



FIGURE 2. Christ as Teacher, Amiens Cathedral, central portal of the west façade, 1220–1235. Copyright: Shutterstock Images. Item ID: 2082709576.

you should not reject the shepherd's burden [...]. But it will seem hard for you, or so I suspect, to leave the schools behind and not to accept promotion to a master's chair to teach Sacred Scripture.<sup>58</sup> In 1269 the famous secular doctor of theology in Paris Henry of Ghent wrote that 'common custom' considered it a higher good to stay in the schools and study than to leave in order to provide for the care of souls.<sup>59</sup>

Lateran IV supported this trend by exempting scholars in the universities from the prohibition against holding multiple benefices as evidenced below. Later papal bulls such as *Solet annuere* of Honorius III and *Cum ex eo* of Boniface VIII allowed the clergy destined to or already in charge of a pastoral

<sup>58</sup> Grosseteste, *Letters*, trans. by Mantello and Goering, p. 177, no. 51.

<sup>59</sup> Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet 1*, ed. by Macken, p. 195, Quaestio 35.

office to study in the schools for a number of years and to continue to receive their benefices.<sup>60</sup>

### Pastoral Assessment of Lateran IV

Going back to Lateran IV, its decrees reflect support both for the new pastoral agenda favoured by the theologians, as well as for some of the traditional elements of pastoral care such as the interest in Eucharist and the Divine Office. It has already been argued by various historians that the schoolmasters had a significant influence on Lateran IV.<sup>61</sup> We know that reputable scholars such as Stephen Langton and Robert of Courçon were present at the Council, but we also see this influence in the practical support that Lateran IV offered to the theologians in allowing them to keep multiple benefices, and creating further job opportunities tailored to their skills. For example, Canon 11, where the metropolitan churches are ordered to have a theologian on their payroll to teach clergy the Scriptures, not only shows the trust put in theologians, but also creates a job for them. The same is true of Canon 10, which orders bishops to appoint suitable preachers. The schoolmasters seem to have managed to slip an exception for themselves into Canon 29, which essentially forbade clergy to hold two benefices with cure at the same time. Since many of the schoolmasters in Paris and elsewhere lived on multiple benefices, it was necessary to make an exception for them, so Canon 29 makes this exception 'for exalted and lettered persons'. There is, of course, the famous Canon 21 on annual confession, which John Baldwin explained to be the greatest contribution of Peter the Chanter. Three-fourths of Peter's *summa* on sacraments was dedicated to penance, and there he focused particularly on confession.<sup>62</sup>

On the other hand, decrees on the Divine Office are also prominent: Canon 17 condemns the feasting and negligence of the prelates in attending Mass and celebrating the Divine Office, ordering them to hold both the day and night offices. Canon 27, on the instruction of ordinands, mentions that those promoted to the priesthood should know how to celebrate the Divine Office and the sacraments, but it does not say that they should preach. Canon 9 very importantly acknowledges that in many places peoples of different languages live within the same city, so bishops in such cities should provide suitable men who will do the following in the various rites and languages: celebrate the Divine Office, administer the sacraments, and instruct them by word and example.

However, the Council produced no decrees on the role of the pastor in the provision of food and safety, which seem no longer to be considered the job

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<sup>60</sup> On these bulls and their importance for clerical education, see Boyle, 'The Constitution "Cum ex eo" of Boniface VIII'.

<sup>61</sup> Baldwin, 'Paris et Rome en 1215', p. 105.

<sup>62</sup> Baldwin, 'Paris et Rome en 1215', pp. 111–12.

of the clergy. As Norman Tanner observed, the decrees on tithes 'reversed the norms of pastoral care': instead of the clergy feeding people, it was expected that the people fed clergy.<sup>63</sup>

Here it might be pertinent to look at Innocent's own views concerning how an ideal pastor should act by analysing his own sermon on the theme of the good pastor. There, he talks of the three ways in which Christ the Pastor fed his flock. First, literally by providing his flock with seeds to plant and bread to eat; second, with the food of teaching by giving them the bread of life and of the mind; and third, through the Eucharist by offering his flesh and blood.<sup>64</sup> Continuing with his exegesis, Innocent III identifies the hired hand (*mercenarius*) in John 10. 12 with those who accept the pastoral office only for its income, for earthly glory, and for the favour of humans.<sup>65</sup> He identifies the wolves, which threaten or kill the sheep, with the heretics, the tyrants, and the faithless, possibly intending Muslims who were fighting the crusaders. In Innocent, then, we find both the traditional idea of provision of food and the celebration of the Eucharist as a pastoral act, and the newer one focusing on preaching. However, this view of the wholesome pastorate was quite short-lived. In an exacting study, James Powell has shown how Pope Honorius III, the successor of Innocent III to the papal throne, made use of Innocent's sermons while writing his own, and how his revisions reveal the differences between Innocent's and Honorius's reform policies. Powell focused precisely on the *pastor bonus* sermon and argued that preaching is more central to Honorius's sermon than it is to Innocent's.<sup>66</sup> Honorius, like Maurice de Sully, identifies feeding solely with preaching, and the pastures with the Sacred Scripture: 'Pastures are the words of Sacred Scripture, because there are all the good examples for edification. In other words, the pasture is the evangelical and apostolic teaching, by which we are refreshed and we refresh others daily'.<sup>67</sup> Quite remarkably, Honorius sent a copy of his sermons to the Dominicans

<sup>63</sup> Tanner, 'Pastoral Care', p. 120.

<sup>64</sup> 'Pastor quippe dicitur a pascendo. Et ipse tribus modis nos pascit, videlicet, alimento naturae, cibo doctrinae, et pabulo eucharistiae. Ipse nos pascit alimento naturae, qui dat semen serenti, et panem comedenti [...]. Ipse nos pascit cibo doctrinae, qui cibat nos pane vitae et intellectus [...]. Ipse nos pascit pabulo eucharistiae, qui dicit in Evangelio: "Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus. Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo. Panis enim, quem ego dabo, caro mea est pro mundi vita" (Joan. VI)'. Innocent III, *Sermo XXI*, col. 407B.

<sup>65</sup> 'Mercenarius quidem est, qui locum pastoris habet, sed pastoris opus non agit; qui pro mercede non spirituali, sed pro temporali; non vera, sed falsa; non aeterna, sed transitoria pascit oves; videlicet pro lucro terreno, pro mundana gloria, pro humano favore [...]. Heu quot hodie tales habemus et dolemus [al. videmus] in Ecclesia mercenarios: propter quod cum nomen pastoris habeant, et officium, non meritum, invalescent haeretici, tyranni saeviunt, et perfidi perseguuntur'. Innocent III, *Sermo XXI*, col. 408A-C.

<sup>66</sup> Powell writes that, 'The purpose of this revision becomes clear as soon as we see that Honorius desires to make the pastoral work of preaching more central to his representation of the Pastor Bonus'. Powell, 'Pastor Bonus', p. 533.

<sup>67</sup> 'Pascua sunt sacrae scripturae verba, quae ibi sunt omnia bona exempla ad aedificationem.

in Bologna so that they might teach the virtues of Christ and help perfect his people, and another copy to the abbey of Citeaux.<sup>68</sup>

### The Implementation of the New Pastoral Care: The Work of the Friars

It is well known that a Church council and synod might not, after all, carry that much weight. Many conciliar decrees remained dead letters in the history of the Church. And this new idea of pastoral care — with its heavy leaning on preaching and penance — might have remained a dead letter had it not been for the friars. Friars, whose appearance in the historical scene coincided with the Fourth Lateran Council, were heavily influenced by the kind of pastoral theology emanated from theology faculty at Paris and diffused into canon law in the subsequent ecumenical and episcopal councils of the thirteenth century.<sup>69</sup> This process of codifying the new pastoral care was certainly aided by the increase in the number of university-educated bishops and friar-bishops. It is of paramount importance to remember that friars never served as parish priests. Being itinerant, changing their residence often as they were frequently sent to different provinces as preachers and lectors, many friars did not have a chance to forge the kind of intimate bonds with the Christian faithful to be able to offer individual pastoral guidance. Being regarded as the Poor of Christ themselves and collecting alms of the faithful, they also did not contribute much materially in the way of care of the poor and the needy. Yet, despite these factors, they saw themselves as pastors because of their widespread work as preachers and confessors.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, due to their mendicant status, friars claimed the upper hand vis-à-vis the secular pastors, as those who not only preach but also live the evangelical life. Modern scholars, in turn, also regarded friars' preaching and penance as pastoral care, even when the leading friar-theologian of the period, Thomas Aquinas, likened the pastoral work of the parish priest to manual laborers in the edifice of the Church; the real artisans were bishops, who oversee the pastoral operations, and even above them the doctors of theology who teach others how to save souls. He advised

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Vel pascua est evangelica. et apostolica doctrina, quibus quotidie reficimur, et alios reficimus'. Quoted from Powell, 'Pastor Bonus', 533. I have revised Powell's translation.

<sup>68</sup> Powell, 'Pastor Bonus', p. 535.

<sup>69</sup> For the links between the friars' education and the universities, see for the Dominicans Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study...* , ch. 6. For the Franciscans, see my *The Poor and the Perfect*, ch. 2, and Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, ch. 7.

<sup>70</sup> For friars' preaching, see D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*. Johnson, *Franciscans and Preaching*. For their work as administrators of penance, see Rusconi, 'I francescani e la confessione nel secolo xiii'. Also see Yee, 'The Burden of Forgiveness'.

that those who are good at study should not abandon schools to offer pastoral care to 'this or that'.<sup>71</sup>

In thinking of the pastoral attitudes of the Fourth Lateran, university theologians, and friars, it is important to remember that these attitudes were quite different than how pastoral care was understood in the past. Rather than a reform, what they advocated amounts to a new understanding of saving souls.

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71 'Utrum aliquis teneatur dimittere studium theologiae etiam si sit aptus ad alios docendum, ad hoc quod intendat saluti animarum [...]. In aedificio autem spirituali sunt quasi manuales operarii, qui particulariter insistunt curae animarum, puta sacramenta ministrando, vel aliquod huiusmodi particulariter agendo; sed quasi principales artifices sunt episcopi, qui imperant, et disponunt qualiter praedicti suum officium exequi debeant; propter quod et episcopi, id est superintendentes, dicuntur; et similiter theologiae doctores sunt quasi principales artifices, qui inquirunt et docent qualiter alii debeant salutem animarum procurare. Simpliciter ergo melius est docere sacram doctrinam, et magis meritorium, si bona intentione agatur, quam impendere particularem curam saluti huius et illius.' Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones Quodlibetales*, I, ques. 7, art. 2. See also Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, p. 175.

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## 'Feed My Sheep'

### *Synodal Sermons as Vectors for Reform around the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)*

The decades immediately preceding and following the Fourth Lateran Council witnessed a seismic shift in the promotion of various crusades, clerical reform, and pastoral care, and in the suppression of heresy. Many historians have dedicated themselves to tracing the councils and synods held previous to or in preparation for the Fourth Lateran Council and those held afterwards in fulfilment of its mandates for the regular celebration of provincial councils and diocesan synods meant to publicize and enforce Lateran IV's new decrees: Odette Pontal, Raymonde Foreville, and John Baldwin for France, Christopher Cheney and Frederick Powicke for England, Paul Pixton for Germany, Peter Linehan for Spain.<sup>1</sup> Other scholars have delineated how zealous bishops including Odo Rigaud of Rouen and Robert Grosseteste attempted to combine the visitation and synods mandated by Fourth Lateran with preaching and the careful selection, education, and discipline of clergy and regular religious in their dioceses.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. and trans. by Pontal; Foreville, *Latran I, II, III et Latran IV*; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants; Councils and Synods*, ed. by Cheney and Powicke; Pixton, *The German Episcopacy*; Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy*.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England*; Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*; McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*; Grosseteste, *Letters*, trans. by Mantello and Goering; Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*.

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However, no systematic study has been done of how specific elements of the reform agenda espoused by Peter the Chanter's circle, Innocent III, and their successors were justified, explained, and promoted to clerical and lay audiences through preaching.<sup>3</sup> How were sermons used to prepare for the Fourth Lateran and other councils and synods and to encourage the reception and implementation of their decrees? What were the contexts in which synodal sermons were delivered and preserved? This is important particularly for the period immediately before and after Lateran IV. Local legislation leading up to Fourth Lateran and its decrees and the gradual dissemination of Lateran IV's decrees through regional councils and diocesan synods were considered essential for the promotion of the reform agenda embraced by Innocent III. In the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the closest medieval equivalent of mass media for the publication of any regenerative agenda were the reforming and crusading appeals and synodal and chapter sermons delivered to mixed clerical and lay audiences by Paris-trained moral theologians and their regular religious co-workers, many of them co-students of or collaborators with Innocent III. Innocent III's acquaintance with these reformers led him to appoint them as prelates, legates, and crusade preachers in preparation for and directly after Fourth Lateran. Many of these individuals lobbied for the adoption of a shared reform agenda at regional councils and local synods held before and after Lateran and at the Fourth Lateran Council itself. They also promoted their goals through preaching and the creation of new forms of pastoral literature used to educate future generations of pastoral workers and church leaders in Paris.<sup>4</sup>

This study utilizes only a few of many surviving sermons of this type; it focuses on a cluster of manuscripts, many of them from Saint-Victor, containing sermons delivered in Paris just prior to and post Fourth Lateran. Many of these manuscripts combine crusade appeals allied with calls for personal and social reform prevalent among the school of Peter the Chanter. These appeals reflect the biblical *lectio* and *summae* of the schools put into action in sermons to clerical and lay audiences. By virtue of their own pastoral work, the Victorines shared the interests of the Chanter's school in Paris. Saint-Victor was viewed as a spiritual oasis by many secular masters and, before the full development of the *pecia* system, appears to have served as

<sup>3</sup> There exists significant scholarship on this topic for later periods, for example, Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England*; Serina, *Nicholas of Cusa's Brixen Sermons*; Cadill, 'Effects of Synodal Preaching'. Two important existing studies of synodal sermons pre and post Fourth Lateran include Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England*, pp. 27–89, and the sermons of Hélinand of Froidmont delivered at Toulouse c. 1229 described in Kienzle, 'Erudition at God's Service' and Kienzle, 'Deed and Word'. See also the works cited in note 2, above.

<sup>4</sup> On the influence of these reformers, see Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*; Goering, *William de Montibus*; Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council'; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land*; and Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade, and Reform'. For medieval sermons as mass media, see D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*.

a scriptorium for copying and preserving their works. Saint-Victor was also powerfully involved in the promotion of the crusade and pastoral work, and Innocent III and his successors relied heavily on its abbots and canons for these projects. For in many ways, during the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, secular masters from Paris, the Victorines, and the Cistercian Order served the functions that the mendicant orders would later assume: preaching, judicial work, service as university and cathedral school masters responsible for training future clergymen, and the production of manuals for confessors and pastoral materials (collections of sermons, illustrative stories, and distinctions).<sup>5</sup>

Saint-Victor's abbot, John the Teuton (d. 1228), collaborated with many Paris masters as a judge delegate in cases involving contested elections, the reform of religious houses, and the crusade. He and his canons were appointed to oversee and reform the dioceses of Beauvais and Reims during Milo of Beauvais's absence on crusade just after the Fourth Lateran Council. Surviving legal cases attest that John knew and applied many of Fourth Lateran's decrees, including those on excommunication, appeals, and inquests based on public infamy.<sup>6</sup> It is no accident that the very Victorine manuscript which contains copies of John's sermons (BnF, MS lat. 14525) also includes an early complete copy of Fourth Lateran's decrees, including *Ad liberandam* on the crusade.<sup>7</sup> John left numerous synodal and chapter sermons delivered at annual gatherings for the Victorine Order in Paris, and he, his predecessor, and his regular religious were involved in the renewal or creation of many orders, including the Trinitarians and Grandmontines, as well as the reform of multiple individual religious houses.<sup>8</sup>

The Victorines were also active as preachers and confessors, and they quickly acquired copies of the reforming statutes of Odo of Sully, bishop of Paris, and the legate Guala Bicchieri; both men would become *confratres* with Saint-Victor, indicating a close connection.<sup>9</sup> In another Victorine manuscript (BnF, MS lat. 14470), copies of these decrees followed a synodal sermon. The manuscript includes advice from Peter of Poitiers, canon of Saint-Victor, on how those falling foul of Guala's statutes against fornicating clergy could be absolved, as could those who committed violence against the same fornicating clergymen in Paris (citing a decretal of Innocent III). The copyist also compiled many sermons to clerical and lay audiences which smack of the efforts in England by Paris-trained bishops, post Fourth Lateran, to provide the clergy

<sup>5</sup> Bird, 'The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade'; Crossnoe, 'Education and the Care of Souls'; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*. To these groups could also be added the Premonstratensians. See *Crusade Charters, 1138–1270*, ed. and trans. by Slack and Feiss.

<sup>6</sup> Bird, 'How to Implement a Crusade Plan'; Bird, 'The Fourth Lateran Council'.

<sup>7</sup> For the manuscript, see Ouy, *Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor*, ii, p. 276.

<sup>8</sup> Bird, 'How to Implement a Crusade Plan'.

<sup>9</sup> Bird, 'The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade'; Crossnoe, 'Education and the Care of Souls'; Guala Bicchieri, *Letters and Charters*, ed. by Vincent.

and laity with calls to reform and basic instruction.<sup>10</sup> However, instead of basic catechetical manuals attached to synodal or conciliar decrees (as was the practice in England), we see here in this and other Parisian manuscripts the compilation of various toolkits of pastoral materials intended to achieve the same purpose. For Paris had become and would remain a powerhouse for preaching, the production of pastoral materials (sermons, confessors' manuals, collections of distinctions, notes on the virtues and vices, and exempla), and legislation both before and after Fourth Lateran. It was also a crucial training ground for future top-tier prelates and clergymen and the canons of Saint-Victor, who pursued an active pastoral ministry in the Paris region and would need such material in their work.<sup>11</sup>

As Nicholas Vincent has noted, the legate Guala worked in collaboration with the Victorines, local clergy, and masters in Paris and was careful to draw on, confirm, and enforce legislation already promulgated by and supported by these groups, including the statutes of Hamelin, bishop of Le Mans, and Adam, abbot of Perseigne, and the legislation of Odo of Sully, bishop of Paris. Issued at the synodal Council of Sées and probably reissued in Paris and other venues, Guala's statutes had largely concerned attempts to differentiate the clergy from the laity through sexual mores, tonsure, dress, and conduct. His most stentorian decree mandated that any cleric who, despite the public scandal caused and after a legitimate warning, persisted in keeping a housekeeper or any woman should be excommunicated. Those clerics who married while in minor orders must forfeit their benefices. Guala also attacked 'simoniacal' charges for the sacraments and sacramentals (rites and observances associated with the sacraments, such as public prayers and liturgical confession, the consecration and use of holy water), which ought to be administered freely and without distinction. Those in sacred orders were not to engage in secular business, faced strict sumptuary regulations, and must maintain a decent tonsure and habit and honest conversation; prelates were urged to enforce this. Special provisions were envisaged for the many clerics in minor orders studying in Paris. Rather than infractors automatically incurring excommunication (as in other regions), masters were given a grace period to publicize the new decrees in the schools and warn transgressors of the danger of excommunication. Even the contumacious, warned repeatedly and by name, were provided with opportunities for making satisfaction. Only

<sup>10</sup> Anonymous, *In sinodo*, BnF, MS lat. 14470, fols 169<sup>rb</sup>–170<sup>va</sup>; pastoral material, fols 170<sup>va</sup>–178<sup>ra</sup>; Guala's decree on concubinary priests and the discussion of absolution (fol. 178<sup>ra</sup>–vi), and the statutes of Odo of Sully (fol. 178<sup>va</sup>). A similar blend of the statutes of Guala and Odo with sermons from Paris masters can be found in BnF, MS lat. 14593, including multiple synodal sermons, sermons to priests, and also sermons on basic spiritual instruction. See also *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. and trans. by Pontal, pp. 17–22. I am currently editing the sermons from BnF, MS lat. 14470, described by Ouy, *Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor*, ii, p. 376.

<sup>11</sup> For England, see notes 2–5, above. For Paris, see note 10, above, and Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole*.

truly obstinate masters and scholars who fell afoul of the new decrees were to be excommunicated by the university chancellor (and be shunned by others). The guilty could, provided they made satisfaction, be absolved by the bishop of Paris, or in his absence, the abbot of Saint-Victor. Some of the sermons discussed below may reflect the recommended magisterial warnings to abide by these new statutes.<sup>12</sup>

Other surviving sermons were clearly labelled as 'synodal', and many have been delivered at annual diocesan synods in Paris which included the preaching of a sermon which scholars, laypersons, and 'outside' clerics could attend. Yearly diocesan synods were mandated by Odo of Sully's statutes, which similarly sought to regulate ecclesiastical deportment. Priests were required to acquire copies of Odo's statutes and other service books (including penitential canons and ordinals), and to perform the sacraments properly and freely. The manuscripts described above, which included statutes and reforming sermons, may reflect attempts to create personalized priestly handbooks. Odo's statutes focused particularly on reverence for the Eucharist and the art of confession. Priests must also exhort their parishioners to learn and say the basic prayers, and preach and explicate the Creed the better to guard against heresy while recruiting for the anti-heretical crusade. Clerics must not play games of chance, attend spectacles and dances (*choreas*), drink in taverns, or wear luxurious clothing. Odo also regulated excommunication: after three days of warning, if the obdurate did not present themselves for judgement or answer their adversary they were to be excommunicated and absolved only under set conditions (cc. 55–56). Ecclesiastics must not accept tainted money or enjoin donations from it towards Masses or almsgiving as a form of penance (c. 34).<sup>13</sup> The councils which Robert of Courçon held in preparation for Fourth Lateran at Paris (1212) and Rouen (1214) would further elaborate these decrees and served as test cases or dry runs for legislation against clerical abuses and for the reform of the Church. Some of Guala's, Robert's, and Odo's decrees were adopted almost verbatim by local legislation and at Lateran IV. Other statutes met with such resistance that they were modified or dropped, both at the Fourth Lateran and in councils held before and after Fourth Lateran by Stephen Langton, Richard le Poore, and other Paris-educated bishops in England and elsewhere.<sup>14</sup>

Some of the legislative work that was adopted at Lateran IV included multiple statutes that exhorted prelates, cathedral chapters, and religious houses to fill vacant church offices, particularly those requiring the care of souls, with educated and moral candidates elected in a proper manner and

<sup>12</sup> See Guala Bicchieri, *Letters and Charters*, ed. by Vincent, esp. pp. 147–53, 154–55; and note 11, above.

<sup>13</sup> *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. and trans. by Pontal, pp. 17–22, 52–99.

<sup>14</sup> See notes 2–5, above; Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade, and Reform', pp. 1–85. For Robert's councils in Paris (1212) and Rouen (1214), see *Sacrorum conciliorum*, ed. by Mansi, xxii, 817–54 and 897–924.

provided with appropriate incomes (cc. 23–26, 30, 32). Other statutes sought to counteract lay interference in this process, particularly in churches with lay patrons, the tendency for some church benefices to become hereditary appointments, and the long-lamented problems of simony (the sale of spiritual services and offices) and pluralism (holding multiple offices) (cc. 29, 31–32, 63–66, 84–86). Perhaps most importantly, Lateran IV required bishops to be actively involved in promoting and enforcing Fourth Lateran's decrees through annual synods, frequent provincial councils (c. 6), inquests into clerical abuses and heresy (cc. 3, 8), and visitation and correction of local churches and monasteries through preaching and disciplinary measures (cc. 7, 33–34). These measures and the use of excommunication as a disciplinary tool must be carefully separated from any whiff of pecuniary profit (cc. 7, 33–34, 47, 49). Candidates for the priesthood were to be carefully selected and instructed in the basics of the faith (c. 27) outlined in a new Creed which stressed the role of the ordained priest as the conduit for the consecration of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist (c. 1), which, with the church ornaments necessary for services, was to be treated with the reverence outlined in Odo of Sully's statutes (cc. 19–20, 22). As those who handled the very body of Christ, priests were to remain separate from the laity in dress and conduct; Lateran IV reiterated Guala's and Odo's strictures on clerical involvement in ordeals and punishments involving bloodshed (c. 18), secular business, conduct, and entertainments, particularly targeting clothing, disordered behaviour, drunkenness, and sexual activity (cc. 14–18). In order to equip priests for their transformed role as providers not only of the sacraments but of preaching and a now mandatory annual confession (c. 21), bishops and archbishops were to provide benefices for teachers to train local clergymen (c. 11), and could draft in assistant preachers and confessors to cover any potential lack of pastoral care (c. 10). Although not all the reformers' suggestions were incorporated into Lateran IV, they clearly influenced many of its decrees.

However, what is typically missing from general discussions of reforming legislation is the consideration of how both lay and clerical audiences might have been persuaded to support and enforce these new decrees. Sermons preserved by the Victorines for their own use and for the use of masters, students, and diocesan clergy working in Paris offer eloquent testimony of this very process in the climate immediately surrounding Fourth Lateran in the form of multiple synodal appeals from anonymous preachers and from named masters including Stephen Langton,<sup>15</sup> John Halgrin of Abbeville,<sup>16</sup> William of Pont de l'Arche, archdeacon of Paris (who preached the Albigensian

<sup>15</sup> The best surveys of Langton's works remain Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*; Quinto, 'Doctor Nominatissimus'; and Bataillon and others, eds, *Étienne Langton*.

<sup>16</sup> For John of Abbeville's attempt to implement Fourth Lateran's decrees in the Iberian peninsula, see Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy*, pp. 20–53; Bird, 'Inquisitorial Identity and Authority in Thirteenth-Century Exegesis and Sermons'.

crusade with James or Jacques de Vitry),<sup>17</sup> and Peter of Roissy, later chancellor of Chartres. James of Vitry named many of these individuals as influential reformers associated with Peter the Chanter and/or the influential demagogue Fulk of Neuilly. In his *Historia occidentalis*, written to promote the agenda of the Fourth Lateran, James held up Fulk as an example of the ideal parish priest who transformed the moral theology he learned at Paris directly into ministry to his flock and the promotion of crusade and reform.<sup>18</sup> Further testimony emerges in the sermons of Peter of Poitiers, chancellor of Notre-Dame in Paris (from c. 1195–1203), and the sermons and treatises of Odo of Cheriton, one of the Paris-trained masters who joined the attempt to revitalise cathedral schools in the Iberian peninsula shortly after Fourth Lateran and shortly before the reforming legatine tour of John of Abbeville, then a cardinal.<sup>19</sup> Odo's contemporary, Philip the Chancellor, also left a host of synodal and electoral sermons which often bear the rubrics of the occasions on which they were delivered.<sup>20</sup> Philip's and William's correspondent, James of Vitry, visited Honorius III just after the Fourth Lateran Council, and his histories were written partly to justify and publicize its decrees.<sup>21</sup> James's *ad status* sermon collection reworks material from synodal sermons into appeals addressed to secular clergymen, regular religious, and laypersons, while his liturgical sermon collection also contains material outlining the duties of the good pastor, as do the sermons of Innocent III and Honorius III.<sup>22</sup>

The discussion here will focus on just three manuscripts (BnF, MS lat. 14470, BnF, MS lat. 14859, and BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999) as most indicative of the reform push leading up to the Fourth Lateran Council, although later sermon

<sup>17</sup> The biographical information on William provided in Bird, 'The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade' has been revised and updated in Bird, 'Preaching the Fifth Crusade', pp. 92, 95–98, 100, 102, 106.

<sup>18</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *Historia occidentalis*, ed. by Hinnebusch, pp. 100–103. For Peter of Roissy, see Kennedy, 'The Handbook of Master Peter'; Kuttner, 'Pierre de Roissy and Robert Flamborough'; d'Alverny, 'Les Mystères de l'église'.

<sup>19</sup> For Chancellor Peter of Poitiers, not to be confused with a canon of the same name at Saint-Victor, see Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers*; for Odo of Cheriton, see Friend, 'Master Odo of Cheriton' and Franchini, 'Magister Odo de Chériton'. Odo clearly studied in Paris and referred to Peter of Poitiers and Odo of Sully in his writings (BnF, MS lat. 16506, fols 268<sup>vb</sup>, 275<sup>vb</sup>). For John's legatine tour, see note 16, above.

<sup>20</sup> For some of Philip's synodal sermons, see Bird, 'Before the Time of Grace?' For Philip's biography, see Bériou, 'Philippe le Chancelier'; Wicki, ed., *Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis*, pp. 11–28.

<sup>21</sup> For James of Vitry's letters to Philip and visit to Italy, see Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, ed. by Huygens, ep. 1, pp. 71–78, ep. 2, p. 79, ep. 7, p. 134. For James's histories' relationship to Fourth Lateran, see Bird, 'The Religious's Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World'; Jacques de Vitry, *Historia occidentalis*, ed. by Hinnebusch; and Vandeburie, 'Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*'.

<sup>22</sup> For the *ad status* sermons, see Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones vulgares vel ad status*, ed. by Longère; for the liturgical sermons, Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia totius anni*, ed. by Ligno; Innocent III, *Desiderio desideravi* and *Si dormiatis*, in *Sermones*, ed. by Migne, cols 673–83; Honorius III, *Ego sum pastor bonus*, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Horoy, i, 916–24.

collections by Odo of Cheriton, John of Abbeville, Philip the Chancellor, and James of Vitry reflect a concerted attempt to persuade clerical and lay audiences of the necessity of implementing Fourth Lateran's decrees *after* the Council.<sup>23</sup> One interesting development signalled by the content of the sermons in these three manuscripts is the serious attempt, in the generation of Peter the Chanter and following, to provide for inculcation in basic matters of faith in order to guard against ignorance, neglect, superstition, and heresy. All three manuscripts provide a mix of sermons for the liturgical year with reforming decrees or treatises, pastoral and confessional material, and may in fact have been compiled in response to the requirements of Odo of Sully's statutes. Sermons filled with exhortations for the reform of secular and religious ecclesiastics jostle with homilies excoriating lay vices which incorporate fundamental instruction on matters including the Eucharist, confession, the Creed, the paternoster, and the virtues and vices, subjects which would become matter for priestly manuals attached to synods in England post Fourth Lateran.<sup>24</sup>

In France, Peter of Roissy had written a manual for priests on the Mass and the liturgical year, and several of his sermons, including sermons to priestly audiences and homilies on the articles of the faith and the sacraments, survive in BnF, MS lat. 14859.<sup>25</sup> As with Innocent III's sermons delivered at the Fourth Lateran, the letter announcing it (*Vineam Domini Sabaoth*), and the decrees of the Council itself, these pre- and post-Fourth Lateran sermon collections followed Peter the Chanter's circle in linking the fall of the physical Jerusalem to the failings of the clerical guardians of the Church. Those who ought to stand like a wall against the attacks of the Devil, heretics, and schismatics had become themselves a source for corruption, resulting in the loss of both the physical and heavenly Jerusalem and the inefficacy of the clerical prayers recited in aid of the Holy Land and military efforts to recover it. Such was the theme elaborated upon by noted crusade and reform preachers (many appointed by Innocent III and Honorius III), including James of Vitry, Peter of Roissy, Philip the Chancellor, and John of Abbeville, among others.<sup>26</sup>

Peter had been one of the preaching companions of Fulk of Neuilly. James of Vitry had depicted Fulk as an archetypal reformed parish priest. Initially dissolute and relatively unlearned, the converted Fulk was eager to convey the moral teachings of Peter the Chanter's circle to his parishioners and to wider audiences as a reform and crusade preacher; he was credited by James

<sup>23</sup> I am writing a separate article on these sermons.

<sup>24</sup> For the statutes, see note 13, above; for England, notes 2–5, above.

<sup>25</sup> See note 18, above. The fullest version of Peter's manual survives in BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat.

232. Three sermons are attributed to him by the scribe of BnF, MS lat. 14859: *Sermo magistri petri cancellarii carnotensis* [incipit: *si sciret paterfamilias qua hora fur*], fols 242<sup>vb</sup>–243<sup>va</sup>; *Sermo magistri petri cancellarii carnotensis de articulis fidei*, fols 284<sup>ra</sup>–285<sup>vb</sup>; *Sermo magistri petri cancellarii carnotensis de xii lapidibus preciosis*, fols 285<sup>vb</sup>–287<sup>rb</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Innocent III, *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, ed. by Migne, cols 823–27; Bird, 'Preaching the Fifth Crusade'; Peter of Roissy, *Sermo magistri petri cancellarii carnotensis de articulis fidei*, BnF, MS lat. 14859, fols 284<sup>ra</sup>–285<sup>vb</sup> at fol. 284<sup>ra–rb</sup>.

and other sources with combatting not only usury and clerical incontinence but also heresy. Peter appears to have shared in Fulk's concerns, for Peter's sermons foreshadow the Fourth Lateran's reformulation of the statement of faith in Canon 1. He defends the doctrines of divine creation, incarnation, and transubstantiation in the face of heretical attacks. Other contemporary sermons similarly attempt to explain and defend transubstantiation in relatively sophisticated terms nevertheless comprehensible to the laity and directly state and contravene heretical errors on this subject and Donatist fears regarding the efficacy of Masses performed by sinful priests. Only a priest can consecrate the body of Christ from wheaten bread and water mixed with wine according to the due verbal formula. Even sacerdotal sinners can consecrate the *corpus Christi*, although in so doing they sin mortally in both consecrating and consuming. Peter also explicates and defends the power of the keys, the efficacy of penance and extreme unction, and orders within the Church, and asserts that marriage was instituted in paradise; all these doctrines were reputedly attacked by 'heretics' in the south of France and other regions whom Peter's colleagues had both prosecuted and preached or debated against.<sup>27</sup>

I would suggest that Peter delivered this or similar sermons both during his preaching with Fulk of Neuilly and in his later capacity as chancellor at Chartres (c. 1208–c. 1213). He addresses a priestly audience whom he urges to keep vigil over and visit their parishes, leading their flock by visitation and correction, teaching, and life example like guards on the walls of Jerusalem against the Devil and other adversaries. Woe to those whose wicked example corrupts their flock and who lay waste the Lord's vineyard with fornication, adultery, sodomy, incest, and heresy so that the spiritual Jerusalem, the Church, is besieged everywhere by her enemies!<sup>28</sup> Another of Peter's sermons warns clerical audiences to guard themselves with fasting, preaching, almsgiving, and good mores against the temptations and anxieties which come with a focus on wealth and against the dangers of contamination presented to their households by depraved mores, women, envy, detraction, gluttony, lust, and drunkenness.<sup>29</sup>

Preserved in the same manuscript as Peter's homilies, similar sermons by Stephen Langton, who attended Lateran IV and promulgated important

<sup>27</sup> Peter of Roissy, *Sermo magistri petri cancellarii carnotensis de articulis fidei*, BnF, MS lat. 14859, fols 284<sup>ra</sup>–285<sup>vb</sup> at fol. 284<sup>vb</sup>–285<sup>rb</sup>; Fourth Lateran Council, c. 1, in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. by Alberigo and others, pp. 230–31; Bird, 'The Construction of Orthodoxy';

Bird, 'Paris Masters'; Bird, 'The Wheat and the Tares'. A similar defence of the Eucharist and transubstantiation against heretical attacks occurs in a sermon to lay audiences by the Paris master Peter of Capua the younger, preserved in BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 119<sup>ra</sup>–200<sup>rb</sup>, incipit: 'Indica mihi ubi pascas ubi cubes in meridie'. A crusade appeal by Peter of Capua is preserved in the same manuscript. See Bird, 'Preaching the Fifth Crusade', pp. 93, 96–104.

<sup>28</sup> Peter of Roissy, *Sermo magistri petri cancellarii carnotensis de articulis fidei*, BnF, MS lat. 14859, fols 284<sup>ra</sup>–285<sup>vb</sup>. Compare Peter of Poitiers, *Vocatis Moyses misadei et elisapha*, BnF, MS lat. 14593, fols 323<sup>va</sup>–325<sup>va</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Peter of Roissy, *Sermo magistri petri cancellarii carnotensis* [incipit: *si sciret paterfamilias qua hora fur*], BnF, MS lat. 14859, fols 242<sup>vb</sup>–243<sup>va</sup>.

statutes as archbishop of Canterbury, were almost certainly delivered before the ecumenical council, while Langton was a master in Paris or in exile in France. Langton targets various groups of sinners, including clerics and priests, who pledged to obey Christ when they received the tonsure. They instead avariciously gather tithes and first fruits, indulge in pluralism, and consume the patrimony of Christ acquired with his blood on horses with costly trappings and other luxuries.<sup>30</sup> Many of Peter's and Langton's criticisms reflect the teachings of Peter the Chanter (some of whose sermons were preserved in the same manuscript) and were in turn reflected in local legislation and in the Fourth Lateran's canons. Anonymous sermons to regular religious preserved in the same manuscript attack vices which were similarly addressed by local and Lateran statutes, including accepting tainted gifts from usury and rapine (cc. 57–58, 60, 62), mandatory entry fees (cc. 63–64), problems of upholding discipline (c. 12), evading appropriate penitential and judicial jurisdiction, and more.<sup>31</sup>

The Victorine manuscript BnF, MS lat. 14470 also contains multiple crusade and reforming appeals and many synodal sermons perhaps composed in response to Odo of Sully's mandate for annual synods in Paris, probably delivered shortly before the Fourth Lateran Council. The sermons not only reflect the concerns of the statutes of Odo and the papal legate Guala Bicchieri, but also many issues tackled at Robert of Courçon's regional councils and at the Fourth Lateran Council.<sup>32</sup> One anonymous synodal sermon focuses on the role of the priest as interpreter of the scriptures and minister of the sacraments, including the body and blood of Christ which he confects and consumes and dispenses to others under the species of the bread and wine. As vicars of Christ, priests ought to imitate him as a good pastor in preaching and interceding for sinners before an angry God. These sacerdotal, intercessory, and exhortatory functions are symbolized by Christ's triple mandate to Peter to 'feed my sheep'. As judges, prelates ought to combine severity in correction with discretion, clemency, and compassion. They ought to set a personal example of purity and strike their hand from every bribe, lest like the Pharisees they be accused of placing insupportable burdens upon others without lifting a finger to assist them or be told: 'Physician, heal yourself'. Similar to the priesthood of the Old Testament, they ought to abstain from wine and preserve purity of the flesh. Drunkenness or sexual activity directly impacts priests' sacramental ministry at the altar. If they approach with polluted flesh or spirit they become the very abomination which Antiochus [IV] Epiphanes placed in the temple of the Lord. If they are vessels for incontinence and lust they place the idol

<sup>30</sup> Stephen Langton, *Sermo magistri stephani in passione domini* [incipit: *Simon dormis*], fols 227<sup>vb</sup>–229<sup>vb</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Anonymous, *In xla ad claustrales et religiosos quoslibet* [incipit: *Est puer unus*], BnF, MS lat. 14859, fols 225<sup>ra</sup>–227<sup>vb</sup>. The parallels between the critiques in the sermons and Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum* are too numerous to list. For an excellent recent edition of this work, see Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, ed. by Boutry.

<sup>32</sup> For a description of manuscript and dating, see Bird, 'The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade' and Ouy, *Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor*, ii, p. 376.

of Venus next to the Son of God on the altar. One can imagine the deliverer of the sermon pointing an accusing finger as he asked: How dare they wear the alb, pronounce the words of transubstantiation, and place the body of Christ in their polluted mouths? It would be a lesser offence if they threw the body of Christ onto a filthy street! This sermon encapsulates the reformist diatribes of Peter the Chanter's circle which they directed towards future priests and prelates of the Church attending the schools in Paris. As judges delegate, commissioned preachers, prelates, and legates, the moralists also targeted those already fulfilling sacerdotal functions in other regions.<sup>33</sup> In particular, the reformers' focus on the necessity for clerical reform to ensure the purity of the Mass resonated with contemporary 'heretical' critiques of orthodox clergymen and also the increasing focus being placed on the Mass as the locus for intercessions for the crusade.<sup>34</sup>

The same manuscript includes synodal sermons written by Stephen Langton, whose archdiocese in England (Canterbury) saw the early reception and promotion of the statutes of Odo of Sully and Fourth Lateran.<sup>35</sup> Langton's first synodal sermon covers material virtually identical to the sermons outlined above.<sup>36</sup> However, his second sermon takes a slightly more belligerent tone and was copied not only into the Victorine BnF, MS lat. 14470 (which contained the statutes of Guala and Odo of Sully) but also into the Victorine miscellany of sermons which contained a copy of the decrees of Fourth Lateran, BnF, MS lat. 14525, indicating that copyists found it useful for explicating the need to abide by local and ecumenical legislation. Langton evokes an image beloved of contemporary crusade recruiters and reformers active just prior to and after the Fourth Lateran Council, including Innocent III in the sermons he delivered to the Council at Rome and another contemporary sermon by John of Abbeville. The image is that of the man clothed in linen in Ezekiel, who signs with the tau all those grieving over the abominations in Jerusalem and strikes the unrepentant, beginning with those in the inner sanctuary. Aptly nicknamed 'Thundering-tongue', Langton stresses that these words should strike fear in his ecclesiastical audience: judgement will fall first on the priestly and clerical orders who commit or fail to correct crimes in the Church.<sup>37</sup> Drawing on his own biblical commentaries, Langton points to Moses hanging the leaders of Israel when the 'sons of Israel' fornicated with

<sup>33</sup> Anonymous, *In sinodo* [incipit: *In manibus prophetarum assimulatus sum*], BnF, MS lat. 14470, fols 169<sup>rb</sup>–170<sup>vb</sup>; see Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade, and Reform', pp. 31–85.

<sup>34</sup> See Bird, 'Preaching the Fifth Crusade'; Bird, 'Rogations, Litanies and Crusade Preaching'; Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade'.

<sup>35</sup> *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Cheney and Powicke.

<sup>36</sup> *Ecce sacerdos magnus*, BnF, MS lat. 14470, fols 201<sup>rb</sup>–203<sup>vb</sup>, attributed to Langton by Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, pp. 163, 212.

<sup>37</sup> *In synodo ad prelatos* [incipit: *Attendite vobis et universe gregi*], in BnF, MS lat. 14470, fols 206<sup>rb</sup>–209<sup>ra</sup>, attributed to Langton by Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 170, no. 9. Another copy of the same sermon is found labelled *In sinodo* in BnF, MS lat. 14525, fols 245<sup>va</sup>–248<sup>vb</sup>. For context, see note 39, below.

Midianite women. The sins of subjects condemn those who fail to correct them; his priestly audience has similarly abysmally failed in their corrective duties.<sup>38</sup> The biblical commentaries of Stephen Langton and Peter the Chanter and sermons by other preachers would use the high priest Eli's untimely demise to make the same point, paralleling Eli's failure to correct his sons' sins and the resulting loss of the ark with the loss of the True Cross and Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 to call mixed audiences to reform themselves.<sup>39</sup>

Tied, too, to the fate of the Holy Land, and the intercessions invoked in its aid through the insertion of daily prayers in the Mass, was the duty of the priesthood to ensure the purity of these suffrages by reverent consecration and handling of the body of Christ. The theme is so common in sermons and legislation of the period that it reveals a true anxiety, manifested also in quasi-Donatist attacks on unworthy clergy and unease about the ramifications of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Reformers' defence of this doctrine and calls for clerical reform and celibacy were allied with their preparations for the Fourth Lateran and the promotion of the crusade. Robert of Courçon and Fulk of Neuilly, for example, were famed for their conversion and stigmatization of clerical concubines and public prostitutes. While enforcing the decrees of Guala enshrined in the same manuscript as Langton's sermon, Courçon left a swathe of excommunicated married, concubinary, and fornicating clergy behind him during his legation in France in which he preached the crusade and held councils in preparation for Fourth Lateran.<sup>40</sup>

Langton warns his priestly audience lest Christ's propitiatory blood call out against sinners who unworthily consume it with lips polluted by desire for earthly things and vice. He attempts to shame his priestly audience by contrasting the devotion of the simple laity who prepare for Easter communion with fasting, vigils, prayers, and almsgiving. He and many other preachers used Peter's triple denial of Christ to outline the dangers of simoniacal or fornicating clergymen injuring the body of Christ with their contaminated hands.<sup>41</sup> Avarice or cupidity is the worst of all vices and detestable in a

<sup>38</sup> *In synodo ad prelatos*, BnF, MS lat. 14470, fol. 207<sup>a-b</sup>; Stephen Langton, *Commentary on Numbers*, in BnF, MS lat. 14414, fols 176<sup>b</sup>-177<sup>a</sup>. This volume of biblical commentaries was deeded by Berthold of Würzburg to Saint-Victor for the use of poor scholars studying theology. Essential context for Langton's discussion can be found in Buc, *L'ambiguité du Livre*.

<sup>39</sup> Bird, 'Preaching the Fifth Crusade', p. 105; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land*, pp. 222-26; Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade, and Reform', pp. 37, 127, 152-55. For biblical commentaries on the tau in Ezekiel and Eli, see Peter the Chanter, *In Ezechielem*, in BnF, MS lat. 16793, fol. 20<sup>a-b</sup>; Stephen Langton, *Glossa in xii prophetas minores*, BnF, MS lat. 505, fol. 19<sup>b</sup>; Stephen Langton, *Glossa in Biblia*, BnF, MS lat. 384, fols 86<sup>b</sup>, 100<sup>a-b</sup>. Langton specifically refers to the fact that Eli, although *reprobus*, died from grief when he heard of the capture of the ark but laments that today many good men, hearing that the land of Jerusalem has been captured, remain unmoved (BnF, MS lat. 384, fol. 100<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>40</sup> Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade, and Reform', pp. 31-85; Bird, 'The Construction of Orthodoxy'.

<sup>41</sup> Langton, *Attendite vobis et univere gregi*, in BnF, MS lat. 14470, fol. 207<sup>b-vb</sup>, and BnF, MS lat. 14525, fol. 248<sup>a-b</sup>; attributed to Langton by Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 170, no. 9; note 40, above.

priest when the sacrament of the altar is converted to profit and ministry into commerce. James of Vitry drove this point home by claiming that the parable of Christ driving the moneychangers from the Temple had been reversed: priests bestowed Judas kisses upon the altar by transforming it into a moneychangers' table, celebrating only the most profitable Masses.<sup>42</sup> These sermons rationalized, echoed, and reinforced contemporary synodal and conciliar statutes which sought to correct precisely these 'abuses' in the handling of the sacraments.

Another sermon in BnF, MS lat. 14470 warned its clerical audience of the danger of being condemned as fruitless trees at the Last Judgement. The preacher turns to a phrase familiar from crusading excitatoria, 'on account of our sins' (*peccatibus nostris exigentibus*), claiming that the head has become the tail and vice versa; the people are like the priest, the priest worse than the people, and those who ought to set an example have become an object of derision. Similar to Abraham, prelates ought to circumcise their entire *familia* from vice through fasting, chastity, almsgiving, and penance.<sup>43</sup> Other sermons from the same manuscript attack usury (a 'problem' targeted by local legislation, including that of Robert of Courçon, and both the Third and Fourth Lateran), and urge prelates to eschew ambition for earthly dignities. He who desires the episcopate desires labour, worry, and service, for a prelacy 'is more a burden than an honor' (*potius est honor quam honor*). Unreformed prelates are threatened with the torments of hell and purgatory and exhorted to busy themselves instead in confessing women, visiting the sick, and administering the sacraments. Yet other sermons remind ecclesiastics of their grave duties and admonish them not to preach for profit or vainglory and beware becoming 'mute dogs' or beasts of burden mired in the manure of their own vices. These sermons too reflect the concerns of Peter the Chanter's circle outlined in Robert's councils at Paris (1212) and Rouen (1214) and, to a certain extent, at Fourth Lateran itself. In fact, James of Vitry would deliberately depict himself in the role of overburdened bishop in a letter written to his colleagues in Paris, including Philip the Chancellor and William of Pont de l'Arche, just after the Fourth Lateran Council.<sup>44</sup>

The final manuscript I will consider here, BnF, MS nouv. ac. lat. 999, teams a copy of Bernard of Clairvaux's reforming treatise *De consideratione* with multiple sermons on the topic of crusade and reform delivered by both named and anonymous preachers working in Paris. I have dealt with

<sup>42</sup> Langton, *Attendite vobis et universe gregi*, in BnF, MS lat. 14525, fol. 248<sup>ra-db</sup>, and BnF, MS lat. 14470, fols 208<sup>ra</sup>–209<sup>ra</sup>; Jacques de Vitry, *Coena domini*, in *Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia totius anni*, ed. by Ligno, pp. 334–39.

<sup>43</sup> Anonymous, *Novate, vobis novale [et] nolite serere*, BnF, MS lat. 14470, fols 216<sup>rb</sup>–218<sup>vb</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> *Sermo communis et in lxva*, BnF, MS lat. 14470, fol. 229<sup>ra-vb</sup>; *In media xl*, BnF, MS lat. 14470, fols 309<sup>rb</sup>–310<sup>va</sup>; *Homo cum in honore esset*, BnF, MS lat. 14470, fols 266<sup>ra</sup>–267<sup>ra</sup>; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, ed. by Huygens, ep. 2, pp. 79–97. The sermon against usurers is found in fragmentary note form in BnF, MS lat. 14470, fol. 228<sup>va-vb</sup>. For contemporary concerns about usury, see Bird, 'Reform or Crusade?'

many of the crusade appeals in other publications, and so will focus on the synodal sermons here, as their counterpart in the joint project of crusade and reform which Innocent III outlined in his own synodal sermons to the Fourth Lateran Council.<sup>45</sup> In one synodal sermon the anonymous preacher is clearly nervous at addressing an audience composed of great men: secular clerics, contemplatives, and prelates. Repeatedly citing Bernard of Clairvaux and utilizing the imagery of the vineyard, he turns to Christ's injunction to Peter to feed his sheep and the apostolic directive to 'Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock' (Acts 20. 28) to attack those who abuse the care of souls, by substituting 'the administration of earthly possessions' (*cura temporaliam*) for 'ministry to women' (*cura muliercularum*). Blinded by greed for luxuries and possessions, they neglect or oppress the poor and infirm, pander to the powerful, and enrich their nephews and blood relations. He warns against ambition for office, litigation, and contention. Mindful of contemporary heretics and unruly fundraisers (*quaestores*), the preacher reminds his audience that preaching is useless if motivated by avarice or quest for temporal gain. Prelates should call hardened sinners to repentance and preach publicly unlike heretics who preach in secret. He concludes by attacking those who seek only worldly delights, saying: 'let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die' (Is. 22. 13, i Cor. 15. 32), when they should say 'let us pray', and concludes with a jibe at prelates who serve the law of Justinian rather than of God in their preoccupation with litigation.<sup>46</sup> The preacher is clearly attempting to shame and/or persuade his audience into observing contemporary legislation and reforming diatribes (such as Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum* and James of Vitry's *Historia occidentalis*) which addressed these topics.

In sermons and biblical commentaries produced in Paris, Moses was also routinely invoked as a daunting exemplar for prelates to emulate.<sup>47</sup> Another anonymous sermon in BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999 uses Moses' rejection of privileges derived from pharaoh's daughter to call an audience of doctors and preachers to embrace penance and eschew the avarice, pride in noble origins, bribe-taking, and detraction which characterizes most courts lest their wicked example impede their ability to cure sinners through preaching. It segues into a promotion of the crusade. The words of Proverbs apply to those signed with the cross. He who is heedless of damage for the sake of a friend is faithful; those who faithfully love Christ are not afraid to become paupers, while those who love riches ignore their neighbours to prevent harm to their possessions.

<sup>45</sup> Bird, 'Preaching the Fifth Crusade.'

<sup>46</sup> Anonymous, *Erunt dies in quo clamabunt custodies*, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 172<sup>vb</sup>–173<sup>vb</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Buc, *Lambiguité du Livre*. The illustrated moralized Bibles produced in Paris for a royal (and crusading) audience also used Moses to model the ideal prelate (Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 211–16). I am writing an article on the parallels between the commentaries and illustrations of the moralized bibles produced in Paris and the biblical commentaries and sermons of Peter the Chanter's circle.

To the cunning, poor crusaders seem wicked; the crafty hide themselves, passing by the unimportant and very young (*parvuli*) who bear the costs of the crusade and patiently withstand the insult and opprobrium of the cross of Christ which Moses himself desired. The cross is the anchor for the Church amidst the storms of this world, and love for Christ is the cord which ties his cross to the Church. This love has been lost from the hearts of many and so the Church is at sea. All ought to labour to recover the anchor, and the great prelates of the Church ought not to refuse to expend the possessions they acquired from Christ's sacrifice on the cross on its recovery. Here we have a clear reference to the recent 'Childrens' crusade and an appeal for a clerical and priestly audience to reform itself in preparation for the current crusade effort and to contribute to its success through sacrificing their material resources, a message which fits that of *Quia maior* or could also reflect the imposition of a clerical income tax in support of the crusade at the Fourth Lateran Council.<sup>48</sup>

This sermon is followed by what appears to be an anonymous septuagesimal sermon, which similarly pulls no punches. Its clerical audience ought to beware lest they incur the curse Christ laid on the scribes and Pharisees who possessed the key to knowledge and did not allow themselves or others to enter. They ought instead to save themselves and others through preaching the scriptures and living well. Urging those listening to place Christ like a sign upon their hearts (an appeal often used to call audiences to take the crusader's cross), the preacher explains that the seventh age when Christ will be exalted and the Church can truly sing 'Rejoice Jerusalem' (*Laetaere Jerusalem* Sunday was the seventh Sunday of septuagesimal season) is near, but has not arrived yet. Although his audience cannot yet enter into the physical Jerusalem, the pope acting as the vicar of Christ in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome carries in his hands the body of Christ which redeems the entire world and enables its entry into the spiritual Jerusalem. Christ's death on the cross freed his audience from sin and provided them with the sacraments. His listeners ought to use the sacrament of penance to reconcile themselves to Christ, for Christians sin worse than the Jews or Gentiles in the crucifixion scene when they recrucify Christ with their sins. Christ is further recrucified when *peccatis exigentibus*, his Temple and the land where the sacraments of their redemption were wrought have become a stable for beasts, are laid waste by fire, or held in the hands of the pagans, and its Christian inhabitants are held captive. Lest they face the recrucified Christ's ire at the Last Judgement his audience ought to convert while there is still time and pray that Christ will lead them into his kingdom.<sup>49</sup>

The preacher deliberately tapped the resonances of *Laetare* Sunday, the fourth Sunday in Lent, an occasion traditionally exploited by crusade recruiters because of its association with Jerusalem and Christ's salvific work. He utilized the rich liturgy of septuagesima (associated with exile in

48 Anonymous, *Fide moyses grandis factus negavit se esse filium filie pharaonis*, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 249<sup>ra</sup>–251<sup>va</sup>.

49 Anonymous, *Rogate dominum nostrum*, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 250<sup>rb</sup>–251<sup>va</sup>.

the desert, the beginning of the Lenten fast for the religious and clergy, and penance) and *Laetare Iherusalem* Sunday with its eschatological evocation of the gathering of the converted peoples at the end of time in Jerusalem and the Roman tradition of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme being used as a processional station on that day. His audience would have been familiar with the relics of the passion deposited by the empress Helen in Santa Croce in Rome, relics which recalled the very sacrifice recapitulated by the salvific presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Innocent III would deliberately tie both sacrifices to the crusade's call to repay and emulate the suffering Christ by positioning daily prayers for the crusade within the Mass just after the moment of consecration. The preacher assumed clerical knowledge of recent events in Rome and encouraged his audience to imitate the pope in engaging in the spiritual warfare of the liturgy and sacraments to regain the Holy Land — Santa Croce had figured prominently in the liturgy enacted prior to the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212.<sup>50</sup> A surviving sermon of Innocent III delivered at Santa Croce on *Laetare* Jerusalem Sunday similarly exploits the typology of Jerusalem to parallel the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, the supernal Jerusalem, the church militant, and the souls of the faithful with the physical city of Jerusalem which 'because of our sins is held captive' (*peccatis exigentibus captiva tenetur*), a technique which Innocent also applied in his sermons to the Fourth Lateran Council.<sup>51</sup> As this homily illustrates, it was not only Innocent III who was capable of creating a creative and persuasive synergy between reform and crusade in sermons meant to persuade listeners to adopt reforming decrees and engage in financial sacrifice or personal service on behalf of the crusade.

Another synodal sermon delivered in Paris attempted to tackle further concerns from local legislation and the Fourth Lateran regarding the potential misuse of excommunication and the sacraments for profit, practices which threatened also to undermine public belief in the validity of the liturgical intercessions, indulgences, and other spiritual benefits offered to those participating in the crusade (including absolution from some forms of excommunication). The preacher reminds his clerical audience that they live from Christ's patrimony and so ought to dispense alms to the poor and defend, correct, and guard the lesser while obeying their prelates, even if their commands seem harsh and indiscrete. The remainder of the sermon deals with pressing issues of the time, defending the capability of even unworthy ministers, by virtue of their office, to dispense sacraments which confer or augment grace, including the remission of sins in confession and the validation of coitus through canonical marriage.

<sup>50</sup> For *Laetare* Sunday's association with crusading, see Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, pp. 20–23; Tyerman, *How to Plan*, pp. 93–95; for Helen, see Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*; for crusading liturgy, see Lindner, *Raising Arms*; Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade'; Maier, 'The Mass, the Eucharist, and the Cross'; Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*. For the 1212 liturgy, see *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters, and Powell, pp. 82–85.

<sup>51</sup> Innocent III, *Dominica Laetare, sive de Rosa*, in *Sermones*, ed. by Migne, cols 394–96, and the discussion below.

Pointing to the ability of words to transubstantiate the physical elements of the Mass into the body and blood of Christ, the preacher argues for that same power in priestly prayer. The prayers of the Church can put demons to flight and accomplish a full remission of sins or more tolerable damnation. He also defends the priestly power of the keys to bind through enjoined satisfaction and to commute that satisfaction to other forms, although he urges discretion in this and in excommunication. All these priestly functions were essential to the functioning of the remissions of sin and spiritual and temporal benefits promised in contemporary crusade sermons and liturgies to those participating in the crusade either on campaign or on the home front.<sup>52</sup>

When involved in law cases, prelates ought to preserve due *modo et ordine* and remain within the proper jurisdiction unless an appeal is made to Rome. They must not abuse the power of binding and loosing for profit or hastily excommunicate, but issue a triple warning before and absolve after one petition. The preacher illustrates his point with Moses and the pharaoh of Egypt. Just as Moses did not immediately interdict pharaoh or excommunicate him but placed a partial interdict on him, so too his audience ought to proceed first with a triple warning and try a partial interdict and admonishment to seek absolution before declaring a full excommunication. Prelates ought to be ready to absolve those promising satisfaction rather than being intent on protecting themselves and their possessions.<sup>53</sup>

Certainly, we know that the Fourth Lateran's decrees on excommunication (cc. 47–49) were disseminated rather swiftly. John the Teuton, Oliver of Paderborn, and other preachers and judges delegate involved in the defence of crusaders' rights wrestled with implementing the new procedures governing excommunication, absolution for money fines, and appeals to Rome almost immediately after the Council. Reformers had long worried that the abuse of the judicial and penitential keys would generate mistrust of the spiritual and legal privileges offered to penitents and crusaders. Blanche of Champagne's clerks cleverly exploited reforming rhetoric and invoked the new rules on excommunication to claim that Innocent III's former master, the reformer Peter of Corbeil, then archbishop of Sens, had abused excommunication and interdict to extort money fines from the citizens of Provins. Odo of Cheriton would display an equal concern with explicating the new rules on excommunication in his treatise on the Passion.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Anonymous, *In sinodo* [incipit: *Miseria et veritas*], BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 259<sup>rb–vb</sup>; Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade, and Reform', pp. 31–85 and 183–235. Robert of Courçon's councils had tackled the problem of episcopal officials and/or priests earning a profit from absolutions from penance and/or excommunication, from justice, and from celebrating the Mass or other sacraments (*Sacrorum conciliorum*, ed. by Mansi, xxii, 817–24, 897–924). These concerns were echoed in the legislation of Odo and Guala discussed above, and at the Fourth Lateran (cc. 21, 34, 47, 49, 65–66).

<sup>53</sup> See note 52, above. Good general treatments of the topic include Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* and Clarke, *The Interdict in the Thirteenth Century*.

<sup>54</sup> Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade, and Reform', pp. 183–235; Bird, 'How to Implement a Crusade Plan';

Many more synodal sermons which are equally fascinating were copied into BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999; some might say they make up a disproportionate percentage of the manuscript. The compiler of the manuscript took an obvious interest both in clerical reform and in the promotion of the crusade. In fact, the proliferation of recorded synodal sermons and sermons to mixed and/or clerical audiences of a reforming nature just prior to and after Fourth Lateran signals an increasing demand for appeals of this nature; if nothing else, the annual synods mandated by Odo of Sully and at the Fourth Lateran Council provided occasions for, at the very least, annual sermons on synodal statutes and clerical discipline. In addition to a sermon by Stephen Langton to priests, the copyist also included a synodal sermon which drew on the imagery of workers in the vineyard of the Church, an image made infamous in Albigensian crusade propaganda and Innocent III's letter convoking Fourth Lateran.<sup>55</sup> The preacher embarks upon a diatribe against avarice worthy of Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum*. Similar to the judges Moses appointed, priests, deans, and officials ought to strike their hands from bribes and forward reserved cases to their prelates. Bribes blind the judge, whether great or small, and the preacher goes to some lengths to condemn both larger bribes of gold and silver and smaller gifts such as game. Judges who accept bribes are like dogs muted by a toad thrown into their mouth and do not dare to correct others. The appellation 'mute dog of not enough worth to bark' was beloved of Peter the Chanter's generation to describe corrupt or ignorant prelates, priests, and judges who did not dare (unlike many reform preachers of their generation) to rebuke and correct their audiences for fear of losing income. The epithet 'mute dog' was used with notable effect by Innocent III in his sermon to the prelates assembled at Fourth Lateran as well as to denounce and depose 'corrupt' prelates, including Berengar, archbishop of Narbonne.<sup>56</sup>

The preacher then uses the image of the golden altar in the tabernacle to address the issue of the purity of priestly lips and hands which confected, handled, and consumed the body and blood of Christ daily on the altars of contemporary churches. The issue had become of paramount importance to reformers and was tied to contemporary campaigns against clerical concubines and priestly fornication. It also formed part of an attempt to ensure the purity of the suffrages used to invoke divine favour for the crusade, including daily prayers inserted into the Mass before Christ present in the Host. After an extended treatment of the manifold duties of priests to their parishioners,

Bird, 'The Fourth Lateran Council'; Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF, MS lat. 16506, fol. 277<sup>ra</sup>–<sup>va</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> See note 26, above; Melloni, 'Vineam Domini – 10 April 1213'; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*; Stephen Langton, *Sermo ad sacerdotes* [incipit: *Sumite de optimis terre frugibus*], BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 191<sup>va</sup>–193<sup>vb</sup>; identified by Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, no. 102, p. 189; Anonymous, *Item in sinodo* [incipit: *Vos estis genus electum regale sacerdotium*], BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 193<sup>vb</sup>–195<sup>vb</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> For the topos of the mute dog, see Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, ed. by Bouthry, i.53, 60, pp. 357, 407, and ii.32, p. 727; Kendall, "Mute Dogs, Unable to Bark".

the homilist attacks those who have become enemies of the cross of Christ. Just as the priests of the temple crucified Christ for forty pieces of silver, so now each day they sell his body for a single coin and recrucify him by unworthily celebrating the Mass. The faithful city (Jerusalem? Paris?) full of judges (priests) has become a whore: venal, base, and prostituted. God despises the polluted offerings of priests; their corruption has alienated the laity. The preacher's oratory escalates, and he concludes with the image of those who touch the fruit of the Virgin Mary's womb on the altar by day after embracing the dung of whores by night. Or as James of Vitry and other contemporary preachers put it: priests were consecrating the body of Christ with hands still warm from fondling their concubines; they went from the daughters of Venus to the son of the Virgin Mary.<sup>57</sup>

The preacher next tackles avarice, invoking all the usual authorities, including Ezekiel on crying 'peace, peace, when there is no peace' and slaying souls which are not dead and reviving those which are not alive for a fistful of barley (Ezek. 13. 10, 19). These words were slogans for the reform programme of Peter the Chanter's school in Paris and their concerns regarding the abuse of the penitential keys and ecclesiastical courts for profit, and the preacher's admonitions fall precisely in line with this agenda. He lambasts those who absolve from the greatest of sins, including usury, provided that they receive a contribution, or foster sins on the excuse that they are 'customary'. He savages false prelates and greedy priests who slay the good through excommunication for the sake of profit while absolving wicked usurers dead in God's sight. He invokes the third favourite authority of reformers (the prophecy of Malachi) to condemn those who absolve the unworthy and excommunicate the innocent. Unless someone turns them into a mute dog by the poisonous toad of a gift they sanctify war against him to fill their purses and claim it is for the sake of justice. The entire Church is infected by simony and avarice: clergymen impose and absolve sentences in ecclesiastical courts and in the confessional in return for fines or bribes and celebrate the sacraments for profit. No one can restrain them because they do not fear warnings, or preaching, or excommunication; they even celebrate Mass when excommunicated, which no lay person would dare to do.<sup>58</sup>

57 BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 194<sup>ra</sup>–<sup>va</sup>; for context, see Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade, and Reform', pp. 31–85. Odo of Cheriton used a similar image in a sermon to a clerical audience for the feast day of Peter and Paul, BnF, MS lat. 16506, fols 235<sup>rb</sup>–237<sup>ra</sup>, here fol. 237<sup>ra</sup>; as did Peter of Poitiers, in his *Ignis in altari super ardebit*, BnF, MS lat. 14593, fols 333<sup>ra</sup>–334<sup>rb</sup>, and *Castra dei sunt haec*, BnF, MS lat. 14593, fols 326<sup>rb</sup>–327<sup>rb</sup>, and *Quasi modo geniti infantes*, BnF, MS lat. 14593, fols 320<sup>ra</sup>–321<sup>rb</sup>. Another synodal sermon preserved in BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999 accused those who offer up he who was offered for the sins of the world for money or profit. Worse than Judas, lethal butchers (*funesti carnifices*) of the body of Christ on the altar, they ought to fear lest blood gush from their sacrilegious hands (Anonymous, *In sinodo* [incipit: *Congregate mihi sanctos qui fuerint pactum cum me in sacrificio*], BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 254<sup>ra</sup>–255<sup>rb</sup>). For the image of Judas, see also Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, ed. by Bouthry, i.21, pp. 185, 187–88.

58 BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 194<sup>va</sup>–195<sup>ra</sup>; compare Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, ed. by Bouthry, i.48, 57, pp. 320–28, 393.

The preacher uses the sorry tale of the Levite's wife violently abused and slain by the Benjamites in Gabaah (Judges 19) to attack several abuses: simoniacal intrusion into the Church and lust. He warns his clerical audience that unless they repent and reform themselves they will have to render account for their sins in hell. He urges them to instead follow Moses in leading the people out of the sin of Egypt through baptism and penance into the heavenly Jerusalem, by denouncing the crimes of the people and announcing the power of the cross to the perishing. Here, once again, we have clear juncture of calls to clerical reform and calls for the promotion of the crusade directed at clerical audiences either directly before or directly after the Fourth Lateran Council. The anonymous preachers' themes would be utilized by other preachers as well.<sup>59</sup>

Two of the most vituperative sermons in BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999 can be securely attributed to two individuals intimately involved in reform and crusade. As archdeacon of Paris, William of Pont de l'Arche was responsible for clerical discipline in Paris and preached the Albigensian crusade in support of Simon de Montfort. A correspondent of James of Vitry, William also participated in the forcible reform of the clergy in the Midi, including the deposition of Berengar of Narbonne, characterized by Innocent III as a 'mute dog'. One of William's synodal sermons survives and takes as its theme Lamentations' description of the foxes contaminating Mount Sion (Lam. 5. 18). The prelates of the Church ought to be firm like mountains, solid in their faith, their preaching, and defence of justice. Yet instead they commit simony by extorting money from the poor to hear their cases or commit usury by charging for expediting justice. Instead of remembering that their inheritance is Christ and rejecting temporal things, priests and prelates are fixated on riches and bloated with pride. They ought instead to focus on *lectio*, *meditatio*, and *operatio*, a good reputation and preaching. Like the priests of the Old Testament his audience ought to be pure in mind and flesh, and yet most care more for the loss of their possessions than the souls of their parishioners. Their lust for temporal things means they have become like foxes in the sight of their parishioners, stinking through lust, cruel and crafty through ambition, and corrupting others through their pernicious example. Any hope of reforming the Church must begin with its ministers. By appropriating the language of corruption and foxes typically associated with heretics and applying it to vitiated orthodox ecclesiastics, William here speaks to a central preoccupation of those preaching and engaged in the Albigensian crusade in the Midi and also to the legislative programme being pioneered prior to the Fourth Lateran: the necessity of reforming orthodox clergy to counter heretical critiques.<sup>60</sup> William's sermon for the feast day of St Augustine, probably delivered at the Augustinian canonry of Saint-Victor

<sup>59</sup> BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 195<sup>ra-vb</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> William of Pont de l'Arche, *In sinodo* [incipit: *Propter montem syon quia disperit*], BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 168<sup>vb</sup>–169<sup>rb</sup>. For William and the crusade, see note 17, above; for foxes and vineyards, see notes 26, 46, and 55, above.

(to which William possessed many ties), reiterated similar themes and urged prelates to devote themselves to preaching, reserving subtle topics for the learned and refreshing the less erudite with moral exhortations (*moralia*).<sup>61</sup>

His sermon was followed by further homilies delivered in Paris which called on mixed and clerical audiences to reform themselves and support the crusade effort. These harangues included an appeal by John of Abbeville, which was probably delivered in Paris either directly before or immediately after the Fourth Lateran Council. It embodies most of the themes covered by contemporary reform and crusade preachers active in Paris and Innocent III's own sermons to the Council in Rome. Invoking the language of Lamentations 5 and the crusading liturgy of Psalm 78 sung daily throughout Christendom ('O Lord, the nations have entered your inheritance'), John levels a staggering charge against his audience familiar from crusade propaganda post Hattin (1187). The sins of the West daily recrucify Christ and have so offended God that he has handed over to heathens and idolaters the very instruments by which redemption for humankind was worked: the Holy Land and the True Cross. And yet, his audience does not share Eli's appropriate response of horror at the capture of the ark in the Old Testament. The captivity of the earthly Jerusalem indicates the loss of the spiritual Jerusalem, that is, the Church. The parallel to the infidel desecration of the holy places is the violation of the Church in the West by those who should not enter its precincts. These are spiritual eunuchs who can corrupt the Church but not generate spiritual sons — they have been given ecclesiastical offices and the care of souls whom they pollute by their depraved personal example while squandering their possessions. Others torment the Church as well, including those devoted to meretricious learning and the despoilers of widows, orphans, and the poor. Only through their expulsion can the Holy Land be regained. He calls his clerical audience to refrain from calumny, rapine, usury, and simony, to do justice and earn the legitimate alms of the faithful by purging their sins through fasting and prayers and leading them by example. Many times the Church has planned the recovery of the Holy Land, and these plans have come to nought. When the Israelites went out to avenge the killing of the Levite's wife, they did not attain victory until they sought divine favour; so too his audience ought to fast, confess, and pray to win spiritual and temporal victory. This last image would be adopted by Odo of Châteauroux for the promotion of the Albigensian crusade in the 1220s.<sup>62</sup>

Trained in Paris and familiar with the statutes of Guala and Robert of Courçon (whom he had appointed as legates), and of Odo of Sully, bishop of Paris, Innocent III used the ceremonial and sermons of the Fourth Lateran to promote many of the reformers' goals. In fact, one could argue that the

61 BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 244<sup>va</sup>–245<sup>vb</sup>.

62 John of Abbeville, *Ad crucisignatos*, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 169<sup>va</sup>–170<sup>ra</sup>, edited in Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land*, appendix A, pp. 222–25; Bériou, 'La prédication de croisade'.

development of reforming rhetoric in the treatises and sermons of Peter the Chanter's circle and their involvement in promoting a shared reforming agenda as legates, preachers, and prelates partly enabled the success of the Council, of Innocent III's sermons to it, and the dissemination of its decrees — the arguments and rhetoric being employed were by now uncomfortably familiar. Innocent used his opening sermon to outline the goals of the Council: the reform of the Church and the liberation of the Holy Land. He invoked verses used by the sermons we have considered to depict the sorry state of the earthly Jerusalem as well as the Church, the spiritual Jerusalem. Jerusalem is held under tribute to the peoples and laid desolate, the streets of Sion mourn, because the holy places and the Lord's sepulchre have been profaned, the worship of Christ replaced with that of Muhammad. The Church is a female polluted and dishonoured by her captivity, and Innocent calls his clerical audience to stir up others to avenge the crucified and as priests of the Lord to aid the Holy Land in person and with their possessions. He invokes the image of the man in linen from Ezekiel signing those weeping over the sins of others with the tau and striking down the unrepentant. So too the priesthood ought to be clothed with an upright life and good works which match their teaching, so that no one tells them, 'Physician, heal yourself'. Prelates ought to promote reform and the crusade through signing the elect with the cross and striking the reprobate with excommunication and interdict, beginning with themselves. Like people like priest, their wicked example has caused the laity to imitate them in their crimes, such that faith perishes, religion is deformed, heresy pullulates, schismatics rise up, and the Agarenes prevail.<sup>63</sup>

Innocent's second sermon to the Council focused on the need for a good life and preaching. Attacking ignorance, negligence, and concupiscence, he urged his audience to remain the light and salt of the world lest the blind lead the blind into a ditch. They must pray properly lest they provoke God to anger, a reference to the intercessions being invoked daily for the crusade. They must beware lest they eat or drink the body and blood of Christ unworthily or become mute dogs of not enough worth to bark in refusing to correct vice from greed, lest they lose tithes and offerings, or from fear, lest they incur anger or hatred. They must combine severity towards the unrepentant with clemency towards the contrite. They should shun lust and avarice; Innocent cites the favourite verses of reformers to support his argument, reminding his audience of the dignity of the priesthood and the triple inheritance which will be theirs.<sup>64</sup>

As noted above, many of the reformers who had pioneered specific proposals in the hopes of their adoption at Fourth Lateran were present at the council, including Stephen Langton and Robert of Courçon. There is even more evidence for sermons to synods and priestly audiences disseminating

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63 Innocent III, *Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum*, in *Sermones*, ed. by Migne, cols 673–78.

64 Innocent III, *Si dormiatis inter medios clerici*, in *Sermones*, ed. by Migne, cols 679–86.

Fourth Lateran's decrees *after* the council: the works of James of Vitry, John of Abbeville, Philip the Chancellor, and Odo of Cheriton abound with specific references to its decrees. Specific criticisms and slogans recur in sermons delivered before and after Lateran IV, suggesting that a common education resulted in common concerns for the reform of the clergy. In fact, in contrast to those who have argued that the literature of pastoral care would have to await the advent of the friars, I would argue that the genres of synodal sermons and reforming and catechetical sermons delivered to mixed audiences experienced a renaissance during the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. This boom in sermon production was further encouraged by synodal and conciliar legislation which required the holding of annual synods and frequent provincial councils. These sermons provide vivid examples of the way in which moral pressure and reforming rhetoric were used to persuade audiences to approve and implement reforming legislation, to potentially transform the hesitant or reluctant into advocates of reform and brand the obdurate as contaminators of Christendom itself. The Cistercian and Victorine Orders and reforming masters of Paris played a key role in the development of this genre in support of their own reform efforts and in an attempt to equip a new generation of preachers with the pastoral tools they would need to implement the mandates of Fourth Lateran and local legislation.<sup>65</sup> Other evidence for the early application of Fourth Lateran's decrees includes the papal registers of Innocent III, Honorius III, and Gregory IX. Many Paris masters were appointed as judges delegate for reforming inquests (cc. 7–8) or handled cases involving the implementation of Fourth Lateran's decrees, including those on the appointment and mandates of judges delegate (cc. 35–36, 48), on summonses (c. 37), on excommunication (cc. 47, 49), on marriage (cc. 51–52), and on the rights promised to crusaders by *Ad liberandam* (c. 71) and *Quia maior*. An investigation of these sources and surviving synodal sermons would complement and inform the research which has already been done in the transmission of Fourth Lateran's decrees proper via diocesan synods and provincial councils.<sup>66</sup>

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65 In this I respectfully disagree with Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, and Mulchahey, 'First the Bow Is Bent in Study...', and align myself with those who argue that secular masters in Paris also attempted to promote pastoral care. See, for example, Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*; Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*; and Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*.

66 Bird, 'How to Implement a Crusade Plan'; Bird, 'The Fourth Lateran Council'.

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## The Dispositions of the Fourth Lateran Council

### *The Obligatory Parish*

Among the dispositions contained in the *Decretum Gratiani* (c. 1140) and the norms that were included in the Decretals (the *Liber Extra* and *Liber Sextus* in particular, 1239 and 1298), the Fourth Lateran Council was an important event that profoundly influenced the life of the Western Church from the thirteenth century, and the parish structure in particular.<sup>1</sup> This was a general council, called by the papacy, with Innocent III (1198–1216) at the apogee of his spiritual and political influence over Western Europe, but a council also rendered necessary by the manifestation and spread of a religious and social phenomenon which had even made it necessary to launch a ‘crusade’ within the *res publica christiana* in order to repress its consequences: the Cathar heresy in the first place, but also the pauperistic and spiritualizing movements of the period.

If, albeit with difficulty, uncertainty, and diversity, the territorial structure of organization had reached a certain equilibrium in the course of the twelfth century, to the point that Gratian’s *Concordia* did not deem it to be a question of priority, then this equilibrium was undermined by the new phenomenon of the heresies and anti-institutional movements. In order to oppose them, the general council of 1215 introduced a generalized control over the faithful by the hierarchical ecclesiastical authority, above all through the institution of the obligatory parish (*Pfarrzwang*).<sup>2</sup> In an analogous way to the incardination

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1 According to Picasso, “Cura animarum” e parrocchie in Italia nella normativa canonistica’, p. 65, ‘allo scopo di conoscere la normativa intorno a pievi e parrocchie [...] un ottimo punto di partenza potrebbe essere il Concilio Lateranense IV del 1215, la cui decisiva influenza sulla vita della Chiesa nel basso medioevo [...]’.

2 This principle is rigorously observed, and we find it, for example, albeit two centuries later, in

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of clerics in the territorial structure of the diocese (*non dantur clerici vagi*), the obligatory placing of every member of the faithful within the territorial structure of the parish was held to be a necessary legal measure in order to avoid deviations from doctrine and customs.<sup>3</sup>

A cornerstone of this system of control was undoubtedly Canon 21, *Omnis utriusque sexus*,<sup>4</sup> which obliged every member of the faithful to confess every year to their own priest.<sup>5</sup> Canon 21 uses the term *sacerdos proprius* and states that every one of the faithful, men and women, once they have reached the age of reason, must confess every year on their own to their own parish priest (*proprio sacerdoti*). If one of the faithful intends to confess to another priest for a suitable reason, he or she must, however, ask for and obtain authorization from their own parish priest, as otherwise the priest they have chosen will not be able to confess them. A text from the *Summa Simonis a Bisiniano* maintained the need to change residency to an 'aliena parochia' in order to be able to receive the sacraments from priests 'alterius civitatis'.<sup>6</sup> If, however, a parish was devoid of a priest, the faithful could, in the opinion of the decretalist Vincentius Hispanus,<sup>7</sup> turn to the neighbouring priest; it was

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the statutes of the Capranica College of 1458. In accordance with the dispositions of the Fourth Lateran Council concerning the obligatory parish, chapter II stipulates that, for the Sunday Mass and on the occasion of feast days, the pupils, despite the fact that the college has its own chapel, must go to the nearby parish church of S. Maria in Aquiro. Cf. chapter II, *De residentia in propria parochia ad diuina officia audienda*: 'Et ut dicti scolares sacris parent canonibus reuenter et honeste ad ecclesiam sancte Marie in Aquiro, infra cuius parrochiam ipsum collegium situm est bini et bini uadant ibique missam deuote audiant, que in illa celebretur, principaliter in omnibus diebus Dominicis anni et festis' (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 7309, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>). A disciplinary reading of the obligatory parish doesn't counter a pastoral reading of the rules of the Fourth Lateran Council, rather it integrates this interpretation; so as, for example, a pastoral reading of the documents of the Second Vatican Council doesn't counter, rather on the contrary validates, the dogmatic constitutions about the Church (*Lumen Gentium*) and Revelation (*Dei Verbum*). A more pastoral interpretation can be found in the works of L. Boyle and J. Goering. For instance for the first, Boyle, 'The Inter-Conciliar Period' and Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council'; for the second, Goering, *William de Montibus*.

3 We can point out that, ever since the first centuries, the principle held of a close link with one's own church. It is enough to remember Canon 21 of the Council of Arles of 314, which stipulated that priests or deacons who left the church in which they were ordained and moved (*se transferunt*) to another would be deposed. Canon 16 of the Council of Nicaea of 325 also contained a prohibition for the clergy to move (*metabainein*) from one city to another and stipulated that the transferal be annulled and that the cleric be sent back to his church of origin. Cf. Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law*, pp. 164–65.

4 *Omnis utriusque sexus* (*De confessione facienda et non revelanda a sacerdote et saltem in pascha communicando*) in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. by Alberigo and others (hereafter COD), p. 245, and in *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis*, ed. by Garcia y Garcia (hereafter Constitutiones), pp. 67–68.

5 Cf. Avril, 'A propos du proprius sacerdos'; Larson, 'Lateran IV's Decree on Confession'.

6 Cf. one of the eight manuscripts containing the *Summa Simonis*, that preserved in London (Lambeth Palace, MS 138, fol. 23a). A provisional critical edition of this *Summa* has been produced by Aimone: *Summa in Decretum Simonis Bisinianensis*.

7 *Vincentii Hispani Apparatus*, in *Constitutiones*, p. 315 v. *proprio sacerdoti*: 'Et si non habet,

a hypothesis taken up again by a colleague of Magyar origin, the canonist Damasus Hungarus.<sup>8</sup>

On the authority of the parish priest towards the faithful who, as established by the canon *Omnis utriusque sexus*, asks for authorization to confess somewhere else, the comments of the canonists of the time tend rather to limit the powers of the parish priest. If, indeed, he refuses a priori or without a reason to grant authorization, the faithful can in any case go to confess to another priest on their own initiative, according to Johannes Teutonicus,<sup>9</sup> whose opinion is confirmed by Vincentius.<sup>10</sup>

A more serious legal problem emerges from the disposition of the canon *Omnis utriusque sexus*, however, because the priest who is not the parish priest is said to be competent to administer the sacrament to a non-parishioner in a valid way only if this parishioner has received the authorization of their parish priest. There is, therefore, on this point a relationship of dependency between jurisdiction and sacrament. The validity of the sacrament (or at least its lawfulness) is subordinate to the possession of jurisdictional competence which derives from the authorization granted by the parish priest to his parishioner. If this authorization is not granted, the external priest will not possess the power of the keys and can neither 'soluere' nor 'ligare'. For the decretalists, this text raised several questions. Vincentius Hispanus asked why jurisdictional incompetence existed if the faithful can, in the case of an unmotivated refusal, confess to an external priest in any case, both because of their own independent choice (*sua auctoritate*) and thanks to the authority of the superior of the parish priest (the archdeacon or bishop) to whom the faithful has the right to appeal in the case of a refusal by the parish priest to grant authorization. In reality, the lack of competence of the external priest is a punitive consequence for the faithful, caused by their lack of consideration towards their own parish priest. If this lack of consideration does not exist, then the external priest should also be competent to administer the sacrament in a valid and lawful way.<sup>11</sup>

The question is examined again from another point of view by Damasus, who analyses the hypothesis of the parish priest who is 'imperitus', that is to say, not suitable for subjective reasons to receive the confession of the faithful. The canon *Omnis utriusque sexus* itself, which introduced the obligation for annual confession and communion, deals at length in its final part with the suitability or the attitude of the parish priest to administer the sacrament of confession. On the very serious point of the suitability of the parish priest as a confessor

proximo, de pen. d.i. Quem penitet, de cons. d. iii. Sanctum'.

8 *Damasi Apparatus in Constitutiones*, p. 428 v. *proprio sacerdoti*: 'uel si non habet proximo [...] vin.'

9 *Johannis Teutonici Apparatus in Constitutiones*, p. 209 v. *licentiam [...] postuleat et obtineat a proprio sacerdote*: 'Quid si malitiose ille recusat? Eat propria auctoritate, ut extra. iii. de regul. Licit.'

10 *Constitutiones*, p. 315 v. *soluere*: 'Quod si non uult dare licentiam [...] eat auctoritate sua.'

11 *Constitutiones*, p. 315 v. *Cum aliter ille ipsum non possit soluere*: 'Idest si contempnatur suus, quia si non requiritur, contempnitur. Quod si non uult ei dare licentiam, adeat superiorem ut eius auctoritate procedat [...] uel eat auctoritate sua.'

and the obligations of the confessor, the canon quotes the norms contained in the synodal Statutes of Paris, in the canons concerning confession.<sup>12</sup> Even in the case of the unsuitability of the parish priest, where there would seem to be a just case to ask for authorization to go to another priest, if the parish priest refuses, the external priest will not be in possession of the necessary competence to hear the confession of the unauthorized faithful.<sup>13</sup> Hence, for Damasus, the need to always turn to a priest with jurisdiction, who is able, that is, to 'soluere et ligare'. In the case of conflict between the faithful and the parish priest, the canonist suggests always turning to the superior of the parish priest in question.<sup>14</sup>

In accordance with the canon *Omnis utriusque sexus*, therefore, there is strict control by the Church over the faithful, and the parish priest is charged with this control. Consequently, the need to be part of a parish (generally on the basis of where one lives) is introduced as well as the duty and the possibility of only receiving the sacraments in one's own parish. Canon I of the provincial Council of Nantes of 895 had established that before the celebration of the Sunday or feast day Mass the parish priest should question the faithful present in order to find out if there were people present in church who came from outside the parish who intended to hear the Mass there, in contempt of their own parish priest. If there were then he should make them leave the church.<sup>15</sup> The canon *Ut dominicis* of the Decretals of Gregory IX (X 3.29.2) was to confirm this disposition.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 62–67.

<sup>13</sup> A singular annotation in the margin. According to Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council, the crime referred to in Canon 1384 of the Codex Iuris Canonici (CIC)/1983 (according to reformed Book VI of CIC/1983 in 2021) does not exist, that is, the absolution of the accomplice in sin 'contra sextum decalogi' (according to Canon 977 CIC/1983 which stipulates the invalidity of the absolution of the accomplice from a sin against the sixth commandment, unless 'in periculo mortis') as the only confessor who has jurisdiction is the *parochus proprius*. If, therefore, one of the faithful, who has had with this priest a relationship 'contra sextum decalogi' (even in the remote past, even before the priest was consecrated and hence the relationship *contra sextum decalogi* took place, let us imagine, between two adolescents, one of whom subsequently became a priest) and confessed that past sin *contra sextum decalogi* to this priest, who had become their *parochus proprius* in the meantime, they would have been able to receive a lawful and valid absolution and no canonical crime could have been ascribed to this priest. Indeed, only with the constitution *Sacramentum poenitentiae* by Benedict XIV in 1741 did canonical legislation introduce the case of the crime of the absolution of the accomplice 'in peccato contra sextum', a disposition quoted by Canon 2367 of the Codex Iuris Canonici (CIC)/1917 and confirmed (albeit in a less severe way) by Canon 1384 of the CIC/1983 and Canon 1457 of the Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium of 1990.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Constitutiones*, p. 429 v. *non possit soluere uel ligare*: 'Ergo si sacerdos meus sit imperitus, licet eo casu habeam iustum causam eundi ad alium, si tamen non det licentiam proprius sacerdos, nullo modo potest ire ad alium ut hic dicit [...]. Debemus enim querere sacerdotem scientem ligare et soluere; et quicquid hic dicat, illis standum uidetur esse in casu illo. Item si iusta causa interueniente parochianus petat licentiam et sacerdos non det, petat superiorem.'

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Sacrorum conciliorum*, ed. by Mansi, xviii, col. 166: 'Ut dominicis et festis diebus

This rigid criterion of the jurisdictional belonging to a parish, established by the Fourth Lateran Council and repeated in the decretals, nevertheless came up against strong resistance in the course of the thirteenth century from members of religious institutions, of priests who devoted themselves to the *cura animarum*.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the criterion of the necessary belonging to a parish and the rigid legal consequences which derived from it were questioned in the course of the thirteenth century by the rise and affirmation of the new religious orders, in particular the mendicants, Franciscans but above all Dominicans. They intended in fact to carry out pastoral activities, preaching and teaching in particular, but also to administer the sacraments and sacramentals in general. This increasingly open activity at times provoked clashes both with the local bishop and with the parish system, which was reaching a state of stability and equilibrium in precisely the same period. We thus find in the course of the thirteenth century a repeated alternation of legal measures in favour or against the principle of the exclusive belonging to a parish.

If in the second and third decades of the thirteenth century Honorius III (1216–1227) and Gregory IX (1227–1241) were relatively favourable to the pastoral action of the mendicant orders, Innocent IV (1243–1254), an eminent jurist, tended to uphold the legal system of the parishes and the authority of the diocesan bishop. Martin IV's (1281–1285) bull *Ad fructus uberes* of 1281 again favoured the religious orders, allowing pastoral activities to be carried out even without the consent of the local bishop. Boniface VIII (1294–1303), who was also an eminent jurist, re-established a certain equilibrium with his bull *Super cathedram* (1300), giving back authority to the bishops rather than the religious orders and disciplining their pastoral activity.<sup>17</sup> From the theological and juridical conflict with the religious orders, formed of priests dedicated and attentive to pastoral care even beyond the legal limits established by the criterion of the obligatory belonging to a parish understood in a jurisdictional sense, there emerged the need to increasingly distinguish between the power of government (*potestas iurisdictionis*) and the sacrament of the sacred order, in which the sacramental power (*potestas ordinis*) became the origin of the jurisdictional power.

A further observation must be made concerning Canon 21. Although the canon introduced the principle of the strict belonging to a territorial parish, this principle is not to be held as absolutely exclusive of other possibilities. If indeed on the one hand the Fourth Lateran Council affirmed the strict criterion of belonging to one's parish, on the other it introduced an important exception to

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presbyteri, antequam Missas celebrent, plebem interrogent, si alterius parochianus in ecclesia sit, qui proprio contemptu presbytero ibi Missam velit audire: quem si invenerint, statim ab ecclesia ejicient et ad suam parochiam redire compellant'. This canon is quoted in the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms (Bk ii, ch. 92) and in the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres (part I, ch. 122) and in the *Decretum Gratiani* (C.9 q.2 c. 4, *In dominicis*).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Landau, 'Sakralmentalität und Jurisdiktion', p. 86.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Feine, *Kirchliche Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 404.

the principle of territorial belonging, an exception determined by pastoral and cultural reasons. This exception is contained in Canon 9, *Quoniam in plerisque*, which stipulates that whenever in a city or a diocese, as happens in many places, there live peoples of different languages, who have the same faith but different rites and cultures, the bishop of that place can charge suitable men (*uiri idonei*) with celebrating Mass, administering the sacraments, and providing religious instruction in the various languages and according to the various rites.<sup>18</sup>

As authoritative scholars have noted, this canon is an important document, not so much concerning the linguistic or dialectic pluralism of different dioceses, given their size, as the use of the vernacular in the liturgical offices.<sup>19</sup> What is maintained on the one hand is the unity of the local church, as it prohibits there being more than one bishop on the basis of the different rites and languages, but it takes into account, on the other, the diversity and the cultural needs, without specifically privileging the dominant culture, language, or rite. But underlining a particular aspect of participation in the sacraments (besides penitence also the obligation to receive communion at least once a year during the time of Easter — the Easter precept) indicates not only a geographical and juridical belonging, but also a community one.<sup>20</sup>

This was to be accompanied by other important dispositions, concerning both the administration of the sacraments and the proclamation of the word. The correct administration of the sacraments is addressed in Canon 51, *Cum inhibitio*, concerning the preliminary acts and the form of the celebration of matrimony from the point of view of its lawfulness.<sup>21</sup> There are dispositions to avoid clandestine marriages, introducing the publication of marriage banns in parish churches. There is also Canon 22, *Cum infirmitas*, which intended to favour the sacrament of penance and at the same time control any doctrinal and disciplinary deviation, obliging doctors of the body to turn to doctors of the soul, that is, to priests and the parish priest in particular, so that they might hear the confession of the sick before proceeding to any medical treatment.<sup>22</sup> As for the proclamation of the word, we must note in particular Canon 10, *Inter cetera*, on preaching in churches by priests. It stresses the need for the religious instruction of the people in order to avoid any doctrinal deviation.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Constitutiones*, p. 57: 'Quoniam in plerisque partibus intra eandem civitatem atque diocesim permixti sunt populi diuersarum linguarum, habentes sub una fide uarios ritos et mores, districte precipimus ut pontifices huiusmodi civitatum siue diocesum prouideant uiros idoneos qui, secundum diuersitates rituum et linguarum, diuina officia illis celebrent et ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrant, instruendo eos uerbo pariter et exemplo'.

<sup>19</sup> Gaudemet, *Le gouvernement de l'Eglise à l'époque classique*, pp. 124–25.

<sup>20</sup> Aimone Braida, 'La parrocchia in tempo postmoderno', p. 322.

<sup>21</sup> *Cum inhibitio* (*De poena contrahentium clandestina matrimonia*), but also marriage banns in *ecclesiis*, in COD, p. 258, and *Constitutiones*, pp. 91–92; cf. also 4 Comp. 4.1.2 (*Quoniam in tua diocesi*) (= X 4.1.27) in *Quinque Compilationes Antiquae*, ed. by Friedberg, p. 144.

<sup>22</sup> *Cum infirmis* (*Quod infirmi prius provideant animae quam corpori*) in COD, p. 245; *Constitutiones*, pp. 68–69. Cf. Brieskorn, 'Heilen und Kontrollieren'.

<sup>23</sup> *Inter cetera* (*De praedicatoribus instituendis*) in COD, p. 239; *Constitutiones*, pp. 58–59.

The system of control over the faithful entrusted to the parish was exercised in practice by those who had direct care of souls: the *sacerdos proprius*, parish presbyter, curate, or parish priest. It is necessary, therefore, for the person holding this office to be supported by the hierarchical authority, both morally, granting him an important social role, and materially, allowing him a dignified life from an economic point of view.

## Patrimonial Aspects

From this point of view, two canons emerge as particularly important for the canon law of benefices. These canons aimed to balance the economic implications of the parish structure. Economic support of the priests who had care of souls came in fact from two directions, one high and one low, so to speak, that is to say, from the hierarchical or patronal authority or from the faithful.

On the one hand, Canon 32, *Extirpanda consuetudinis*, introduces the well-known principle of the *portio congrua*, in order to offer a minimum (at times, or perhaps often, a true minimum) of material subsistence for the priests responsible for the *cura animarum*.<sup>24</sup> A care or control of the parishioners was made increasingly indispensable also in order to avoid deviations in behaviour and faith, as we have already observed. On the other, Canon 66, *Ad apostolicam*, condemns the excessive greed of clerics who demand money in order to celebrate the sacraments, but by attempting to introduce fair payments for burials and weddings, it also intended to promote the generosity of the faithful laity in support of the clergy.<sup>25</sup> And relations between faithful and clergy were not, as we know, always idyllic, even by the explicit admission of the clerics themselves.<sup>26</sup>

The commentaries by the decretalists mentioned above, Johannes Teutonicus, Vincentius Hispanus, and Damasus Hungarus, on these different canons underline the interest of the canonists of the period in patrimonial aspects. This does not mean that the canons of a pastoral nature received less attention, above all those concerning the sacraments. The obligation to confess to one's own priest and the possibilities of avoiding him induced these canonists to make various observations, but even the canon on matrimony

<sup>24</sup> *Extirpande consuetudinis* (*Vt patroni competentem portionem dimittant clericis*) in COD, pp. 249–50; *Constitutiones*, pp. 75–77.

<sup>25</sup> *Ad apostolicam* (*De simonia – circa cupiditatem clericorum*) in COD, p. 265; *Constitutiones*, p. 106. This canon is quoted in the Decretals of Gregory IX, X 5.3.42. Cf. also 1 Comp. 5.2.15 (X 5.3.16) in *Quinque Compilationes Antiquae*, ed. by Friedberg, p. 54.

<sup>26</sup> It was Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, who wrote in 1404 that the laity are the natural enemies of the clerics: 'Cum laici clericis sint infestii, poterunt leviter dicere de suis curatis quod sint fornicatores publici, si forte colloquium vel consortium modicum viderint apud eum cum mulieribus'. Quoted in Binz, *Vie religieuse et réforme ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Genève*, p. 360 n. 4, which refers to Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, p. 172.

was subject to comments which stress the principle of the obligatory parish.<sup>27</sup> A wedding is considered clandestine not only if it is celebrated without witnesses and without solemnity, but also if it is celebrated in a place where those contracting it are unknown<sup>28</sup> (even in the presence of witnesses and publicly),<sup>29</sup> that is to say, outside one's own parish.

The canons whose contents are of a patrimonial nature receive even greater attention from our commentators, as we have already observed. Patrimonial questions are often among those most suited to legal science, and they are also among those most hotly debated because of the interests connected to them. The commentary by Huguccio had already stressed some contrasts, noting with particular sarcasm that those who were the victims of the greed of the prelates were precisely those priests who had care of souls: 'capellanis existentibus siccis'.<sup>30</sup>

According to canonical rules, in fact, a quarter of the tithes went to the bishop, a quarter to the church building maintenance, and a quarter to the poor. The last quarter went to the parish clergy. The holder of the benefice received 75 per cent of this, while the parish priest received the last 25 per cent.<sup>31</sup> The *parochiales presbiteri*, therefore, received only a sixteenth of the income, and this reason, underlined the Fourth Lateran Council, contributed to the fact that in some regions the *parochialis sacerdos* was often illiterate, and so in order to remedy the situation it was necessary to provide the priest with a 'portio sufficiens'.<sup>32</sup>

## Religious Instruction

As for the canon regarding religious instruction, the commentary of the canonists centres on the patrimonial aspect which emerges from the words

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Constitutiones*, p. 208 for Johannes Teutonicus; p. 315 for Vincentius Hispanus; p. 429 for Damasus Hungarus; see also Aimone Braida, 'La parrocchia in tempo postmoderno', p. 321.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Constitutiones*, p. 258 for Johannes Teutonicus: 'tertio modo cum fit ubi contrahens ignotus est'.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Constitutiones*, p. 362 for Vincentius Hispanus: 'si sit clandestinum, id est si fiat occulte quoad personarum pluralitatem uel etiam quoad remotionem locorum, utpote publice contrahunt sed in remotis locis ubi non noscuntur'.

<sup>30</sup> Huguccio, *Summa Decretorum*, C.16 q.1 c. 45 v. *Decimis usque plebis tantum* 'Sed modo auaritia episcoporum occupauit sibi in multis locis tres partes decimarum, tantum quarta relicta plebis capellanis existentibus siccis' (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 2280 fol. 215<sup>r</sup>; Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 7, fol. 275<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Constitutiones*, p. 435 for Damasus Hungarus: 'Primo enim unam quartam accipiebat episcopus [...] aliam pro fabrica [...] tertiam pro pauperibus et quarta remanebat ecclesie parochiali, de qua persona ibi instituta accipiebat tres partes, et ita sacerdoti remanebat quarta'.

<sup>32</sup> *Constitutiones*, p. 76: 'in quibusdam regionibus parochiales presbyteri pro sua sustentatione non optinent nisi quartam quarte, idest sextamdecimam decimarum. Vnde fit in hiis regionibus pene nullus inueniatur parochialis sacerdos qui uel modicam habeat peritiam litterarum [...] statuimus [...] portio presbyteris ipsis sufficiens assignetur'.

which refer to the ‘viri idonei’ charged with preaching, who found themselves in economic difficulty, those whom the bishops should look after: ‘congrue necessaria subministrent’. Here the theme of a ‘congruous’ sustenance emerges, referred to in the following Canon 32.<sup>33</sup>

The question of the education of the priests with care of souls had been present for several years. In order to help the sons of poor families (from which the future members of the lower clergy were often recruited, that is to say, precisely those with care of souls) who could not go to a fee-paying school, Canon 18 of the Third Lateran Council of 1179 had stipulated that a free school should be established in the cathedral or that the schools that already existed in the churches or monasteries should be opened up again.<sup>34</sup> The dispositions of the Third Lateran Council, repeated in the same year by Pope Alexander III in a letter to the bishop of Reims,<sup>35</sup> were strengthened by the Fourth Lateran Council which, lamenting the relative observance of what had been established by canon law, in Canon 11 not only confirmed Canon 18 of the Third Lateran Council, but extended the obligation to establish a school in all the churches that had sufficient resources.<sup>36</sup> It is important to underline the connection between Canon 11 on the need to have a parish clergy that was sufficiently educated and Canon 21 which, by prescribing obligatory annual confession to one’s own priest, presupposed that the *sacerdos proprius* had received an adequate training as a confessor too, a training which unfortunately was often lacking.<sup>37</sup>

The commentary of the canonists on this disposition of ‘ecclesiastical policy’ of supplying free education in order to have better priests and better cure of souls remains limited to the merely economic aspects: if, that is, the master can receive further payment from his pupils if the resources of the benefice

33 Cf. *Constitutiones*, p. 304 for Vincentius Hispanus, and p. 423 for Damasus Hungarus.

34 Cf. COD, p. 220, Can. 18 *Quoniam ecclesia*: ‘ne pauperibus [...] legendi et proficiendi opportunitas subtrahatur, per unamquamque ecclesiam cathedralem magistro, qui clericos eiusdem ecclesiae et scholares pauperes gratis doceat, competens aliquod beneficium assignetur [...] In aliis quoque restituatur ecclesiis sive monasteriis’. Cf. Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses*, pp. 144–45.

35 Cf. 3 Comp. 5.3. (De magistris et ne aliquid exigatur ab eis) c. un. (Peruenit ad nos), in *Quinque Compilationes Antiquae*, ed. by Friedberg, p. 98.

36 Cf. COD, p. 240, Can. 11 *Quia nonnullis*: ‘adicimus ut non solum in qualibet cathedrali ecclesia sed etiam in aliis, quarum sufficere potuerunt facultates, constituantur magister [...] qui clericos [...] gratis in grammaticae facultate ac aliis instruat iuxta posse’.

37 Cf. Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati*, p. 59, who writes: ‘Questo clero, in realtà, non appare in grado di far fronte in maniera adeguata a tale compito, in quanto la sua impreparazione non è tanto motivo di lagnanza dei riformatori ecclesiastici, quanto un dato strutturale derivante dal livello minimale di conoscenze teologiche e liturgiche che era richiesto per la consacrazione sacerdotale’. For the reasons behind the lack of preparation of the clergy, due to the fact that the dispositions of Canons 18 of the Third Lateran Council and 11 of the Fourth Lateran Council were not observed, as neither was the 1274 constitution of Gregory X, *Licet canon*, Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati*, n. 7 also refers to Boyle, ‘The Constitution “Cum ex eo” of Boniface VIII’.

granted to him are not enough. The commentator pauses for a moment to consider the juridical and patrimonial aspects of the prebend which is granted to the teacher, by perhaps removing it from the chapter following the death of a canon: if a new canon is elected, he has the right to the prebend which has in the meantime been granted to the teacher.

We can note how the canonists who comment on the council disposition are themselves teachers and how they take to heart the possibility of a higher salary: on the question of whether teachers can claim some form of payment from their wealthy pupils, Johannes Teutonicus in particular reminds us that if the teacher is a true lover of wisdom he will not know what to do with the money, following the example of Socrates; that moreover knowledge is a gift of God that cannot be sold; and that teachers of law receive money lawfully, but they cannot ask for it lawfully.

On the other hand, he who carries out a job is worthy of being paid; moreover, if the jurist can sell a correct legal opinion, why can a teacher not sell a correct teaching? It cannot be objected that he must teach free of charge: he can in any case ask for money, like the witness who testifies free of charge can ask for his expenses to be paid, just as the bishop who consecrates a church free of charge can ask for his expenses to be reimbursed, or the judge who judges free of charge has a right to have his expenses met.

For these reasons Johannes Teutonicus believes that the teacher can ask for a payment if he has few resources, as he is not selling his knowledge but his labour, and the money he receives is not a payment but a fee, which is granted to him as a token of recognition by his pupil.<sup>38</sup> In the same sense, even though not as lengthy, are the reflections of Vincentius Hispanus<sup>39</sup> and Damasus Hungarus.<sup>40</sup>

But going back more directly to the salary of parish priests, the question is what is the 'portio sufficiens' for a priest. Enough to provide the priest with

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Constitutiones*, pp. 202–03: ad v. *Quia nonnullis [...] aliosque scolares pauperes gratis instrueret*: 'Numquid a diuitibus possunt petere collectas? Videtur quod non, quia si uult dici philosophus, proiciat pecuniam exemplo Socratis [...]. Item scientia donum Dei est, ergo uendi non potest [...]. Item professores iuris licite recipiunt pecuniam, set non licite petunt [...]. Set contra, qui prestat obsequium recipiet etiam mercedem [...]. Item cum iurisperitus possit uendere iustum consilium [...] quare non posset magister uendere iustum doctrinam, nec obstat si dicas quod gratis debet docere. Fateor et tamen potest pecuniam petere. Nonne testis gratis feret testimonium, et tamen petit sumptus [...]. Nonne episcopus gratis consecrabit ecclesias et tamen petit sumptus [...]. Et iudex gratis iudicat et tamen petit sumptus [...]. Et hiis rationibus sententio quod magister licite petit collectam cum ei sua plenissime non sufficiunt [...]. Nam non uendit scientiam sed laborem suum, et non quasi premium, set pro honore recipit collectam in signum subiectionis, quod fieri potest [...] monasteria aliquid debent episcopo nomine eulogie, quasi in signum subiectionis'.

<sup>39</sup> *Constitutiones*, p. 304: 'Quid si accipit pretium? Peccat, tamen non committit simoniam, quia non uendit spirituale, nisi intelligas spirituale, idest non corporale'.

<sup>40</sup> *Constitutiones*, p. 423: 'Ergo a diuitibus poterunt exigere [...]. Et ita est hic arg. ad questionem dominicalem quod potest magister a scolaribus recipere'.

board and clothing, replies Damasus. Enough to provide for the priest and his family in order to live in an honest and dignified way, to receive guests: there is no absolute criterion, it depends on the quality of the person, on his standard of living, believes Johannes Teutonicus.<sup>41</sup> The poor chaplain or rural priest needs less, therefore, than the rich archpriest of a *pieve*; the parish vicar less than he who holds the benefice.

The holder of the benefice often, when the profits of the parish can provide for more than one person, finds an assistant, a vicar, in the exercise of his ministry, who will take on the pastoral activities, even if there only remain the crumbs of an income for it. The Fourth Lateran Council intended to prohibit this widespread habit and stipulated that it was to be the title holder of the parish church who undertook the care of souls directly and not through a vicar,<sup>42</sup> unless, Damasus comments, he has to absent himself for a just cause or is seriously ill or is afflicted by some grave irregularity.<sup>43</sup>

The Fourth Lateran Council itself admits an exception if the title holder enjoys a benefice or a dignity to which a parish church is annexed. In this case, as he has to see to the bigger church, he will be able, according to canon rules, to entrust the parish church to a suitable and stable vicar, providing him in any case with congruous sustenance.<sup>44</sup> In any case, in the opinion of Johannes Teutonicus, it is not possible for the same person to accumulate prebends and parishes as benefices, unless he has only titular charge of both of them.<sup>45</sup> This opinion is confirmed by Vincentius, who believes it is not possible to possess a benefice and a parish church at the same time.<sup>46</sup>

The difficult economic situation of the *sacerdos parochialis* partly explains the abuses highlighted by the Fourth Lateran Council in the first part of Canon 66, *Ad apostolicam*, whereby burials and weddings are only celebrated if paid for. This was a way of trying to integrate the totally insufficient income from the 'portio congrua'. These abuses are naturally condemned by the Fourth

41 Cf. *Constitutiones*, pp. 221–22: 'id est que sufficiat sibi et suis [...] et unde honeste et sufficienter se potest procurare et recipere hospites [...] tamen hec sufficientia perpenditur ex qualitate personarum, quia minus debet sufficere pauperi quam diuiti.'

42 COD, c. 32 (*Extirpanda*) pp. 249–50: 'Qui uero parochiale habet ecclesiam non per uicarium set per se ipsum illi deseruiat.'

43 Cf. *Constitutiones*, p. 435: 'Nota casum in quo quis potest seruire per uicarium. Item si enormiter contingat uitiari sine delicto persona ecclesie alicuius uel morbum incurabilem incurrerit [...] uel si iusta ex causa necesse sit ut, se absente, persona ecclesie per uicarium seruat.'

44 Cf. *Constitutiones*, p. 76: 'nisi forte prebende uel dignitati parochialis ecclesia sit adnexa, in quo casu concedimus [...] cum oporteat eum in maiori ecclesia deseruire, in ipsa parochiali ecclesia idoneum et perpetuum [...] habere uicarium canonice institutum, qui [...] congruentem habeat [...] portionem'

45 Cf. *Constitutiones*, pp. 221–22: 'Vel ideo dicit quod si ecclesia sufficit pluribus potest [...] habere secum qui in ordine sacerdotali ministret [...] quod non potest quis simul habere prebendam et ecclesiam, quod concedo si utramque uelit habere quasi titulum.'

46 Cf. *Constitutiones*, p. 328: 'Videtur ergo quod non possit habere quis prebendam in una ecclesia et personatum in alia uel parochiam.'

Lateran Council, which wanted at the same time to preserve the existing custom of accepting a spontaneous offering and not a payment. There is indeed the danger that, in order to remove the abuse, you also remove a praiseworthy custom: indeed, it is a theme used by heretics, who, by invoking the purity of the Church, wanted to remove its resources. And it is this second aspect of the council disposition which tends to be underlined by the commentators, and Johannes Teutonicus in particular, for whom the praiseworthy custom was not only not to be abolished, but was, rather, to be made obligatory.<sup>47</sup>

We can finally ask whether the dictates of the council concerning the parishes were effectively applied and if they managed to abolish the abuses and introduce new praiseworthy customs. Since law (canon law too) deals with what must be rather than with what is, the question appears to be pertinent. Only detailed historical research can inform us as to the effective success or lack of it of the council dispositions, but as for the what must be, the Fourth Lateran Council certainly reached its objectives. Throughout the thirteenth century, in fact, numerous diocesan synods punctually repeat the council dispositions.<sup>48</sup>

### **The Application of the Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council in the Centuries that Immediately Followed**

When the historian finds repeated insistence by the authority on certain aspects, however, the consideration he is generally led to make is that if there was such great insistence on the observation of certain precepts it is because these precepts may not or may have only been partially observed. By examining numerous synodal statutes (those in France, for example, in the course of the thirteenth century) some elements emerge that must, however, be viewed with reservation, as the sources are univocal and perhaps

47 *Constitutiones*, p. 267: 'Littera ista uidetur uelle quod, licet clerici nichil possint petere pro talibus sacramentis, si tamen laici consueuerant aliqua dare, per superiorem possunt cogi ad obseruandam talem consuetudinem que est pietate inducta.' Johannes also provides a second interpretation of the conciliar text in which he underlines the clerics' desire for independence from the laity: 'uel intellige quod laici abutuntur consuetudinibus que eis pietate permisso sunt, ut cum permittitur eis clericos presentare, uolunt etiam instituere, uel ex eo quod requiritur consensus eorum in electionibus uolunt etiam eligere, uel ex eo quod permittitur eis pasci de bonis ecclesie, si labuntur ad inopiam, uolunt rapere bona ecclesie. Jo.'

48 Cf. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, *La vie paroissiale en France au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, which, in brief, offers a rather benevolent view of the rural clergy. Of the same, rather positive, opinion of the medieval parish clergy is also Aubrun, *La paroisse en France des origines au XV<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, pp. 169–70; Rapp, 'La paroisse et l'encadrement religieux des fidèles', which on p. 39 speaks of the 'solidité' of this clergy; and Gasnault, 'Le clergé dans les paroisses rurales du diocèse de Sens à la fin du Moyen Âge', p. 324. Less optimistic are Platelle, 'La paroisse et son curé jusqu'à la fin du XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle', which on p. 23 refers to the 'médiocrité du clergé locale', and Adam, *La vie paroissiale en France au XIV<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, which is very harsh towards the parish clergy.

too abstract. What emerges from the statutes of these synods and from the reports made by bishops in the course of the thirteenth century is a picture of parish life with light and shade, with aspects of vitality in some parishes and others less fortunate. Even if the patrimonial considerations remain decisive, these contrasting elements concern the priest of the parish, as a person and in his social role, and the situation in the public life of the parish.

The reality that emerges on the figure of the priest with care of souls in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries presents some negative aspects, sometimes far from the model that the Church would want, that is to say, a representative of the hierarchical authority, a teacher, a defender of public health, safety, and morality; someone moreover whom it would want to be unbound by any family ties, but partly protected from an economical point of view. Yet since, as Dante put it, 'la materia a l'intenzion dell'arte è sorda' ('the shape does not often accord with the intention of the art because the material is deaf'), sometimes weaknesses accumulated.<sup>49</sup> Insufficiently paid and hence uneducated if not illiterate, a lover of good wine, sometimes exaggerating a little, sometimes miserly and weak, sometimes a father, the *desservant* or parish priest, the presbyter of the parish prefers to negotiate with the world rather than to combat it. Simple and human he does not like brandishing the sword that some clerical idealists would like to put in his hand. He tries to maintain certain principles, but with a little bit of cunning; and there is no lack of shortcomings towards an ecclesiastical discipline which was theoretically strict. A picture which is perhaps less than ideal, but from the generally brutal and messy whole that characterized the life of the ecclesiastical society of the thirteenth century, there also emerges in the parish priest a great quality which is not always present in the different periods of the history of the Church: despite everything, it is the great freedom of this minor clergy, the naïve way in which it manifested itself, and the almost total absence of hypocrisy in its simple life.<sup>50</sup>

## The Role of the Laity and the Religious in the Life of the Parish

Two important questions emerge from the strict texts of the synod. These concern the position of the parish priest in relation to neighbouring forces which could, under certain circumstances, even reveal themselves to be hostile or become competitors, that is to say, the laity and the religious.<sup>51</sup> As

49 Cf. Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia, Paradiso*, v. 127–29.

50 Cf. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, *La vie paroissiale en France au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 177–79.

51 Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, *La vie paroissiale en France au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 178. Cf. Aubrun, *La paroisse en France des origines au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 123: 'Les plus redoutables concurrents sont cependant les moines Mendians, surtout les Mineurs, car, bien organisés, très populaires, ils jouissent de priviléges considérables'.

for the laity, once the system of private churches had disappeared, the right of patronage for the appointment of the parish priest came into being. But control by the laity over the patrimonial goods of the parish, and over the church building in particular, came about through a new institution, the *fabbrica* or *fabbriceria*.<sup>52</sup> In some places, such as Dijon for example, the *fabbricerie* also took on competences concerning the spiritual direction of the parishes, with the appointment of the parish vicars, the *desservants*.<sup>53</sup>

A second phenomenon also originated, which highlights a certain intolerance in the laity, both towards the control exercised over them by the clerics and because of the taxation they were subject to. This phenomenon was the birth of the confraternities.<sup>54</sup> These obviously arose in the context of the religious life of the parish in a broad sense, but at times they expressed needs that opposed the legal criteria established by the clerics.<sup>55</sup> They naturally took part in the life of the parish, but they went beyond the obligatory parish as their recruitment exceeded the territorial confines of the parish.<sup>56</sup> It might be the case that, from a patrimonial point of view, a confraternity would have its own chaplain and organize its own liturgical functions besides or in competition with those of the curate, as it could establish itself and prosper besides or even against the parish.<sup>57</sup>

For these reasons too, in the course of the following centuries, some bishops made claims to establish the exclusive ends for the canonical legitimacy of the confraternities, that is to say, the conservation of the churches and the objects

<sup>52</sup> On the *fabbriceria*, a legal entity charged with the administration of the ecclesiastical patrimony and assigned to the building, conservation, and maintenance of holy buildings, see the corresponding entry in the *Encyclopédia Italiana* (Treccani) edited in 1932. Cf. Viaux, *La vie paroissiale à Dijon à la fin du Moyen Âge*, p. 145: 'Les fabriques se mettent en place au cours du xiii<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Au xv<sup>ème</sup> siècle [according to what is stated, quoted in n. 2, p. 145, by Le Bras, *Les institutions ecclésiastiques de la Chrétienté médiévale*, p. 418] elles comptaient parmi les institutions ordinaires de la chrétienté'; p. 146: 'La grande affaire des fabriques était l'entretien de l'église et des bâtiments paroissiaux'; Gaudemet, 'La paroisse au Moyen Âge', p. 18, n. 43 (with bibliography) states that the *fabbricerie* constituted a contribution of the laity to the life of the parish.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Aubrun, *La paroisse en France des origines au xv<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, p. 150, according to which the *fabbricerie* contributed to the emancipation of the parish from clerical protection, preparing it to become a community before it became a communal city; Viaux, *La vie paroissiale à Dijon à la fin du Moyen Âge*, p. 145.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Aubrun, *La paroisse en France des origines au xv<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, p. 150: 'Les paroissiens s'organisent donc entre eux et en dehors du contrôle clérical pour entretenir, gérer, voire créer diverses œuvres caritatives'.

<sup>55</sup> On the confraternities as 'consensual parishes' but at times as competing parishes, as an alternative for the laity to hierarchical/parochial control, as well as on the not always easy relations between parishes and confraternities, cf. Gaudemet, 'La paroisse au Moyen Âge', p. 18. Also Messermann and Pacini, *Ordo fraternitatis*.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Viaux, *La vie paroissiale à Dijon à la fin du Moyen Âge*, p. 157, which, in n. 2 of p. 157, quotes Le Bras, 'Les confréries religieuses'; Le Bras, *Les institutions ecclésiastiques de la Chrétienté médiévale*, p. 414.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Viaux, *La vie paroissiale à Dijon à la fin du Moyen Âge*, p. 164.

of worship, the cure of the sick, burial, the fight against natural calamities, the collection of money or goods, and works of public utility, as emerges, for example, from the statutes issued by the archbishop of Bordeaux in 1255.<sup>58</sup>

But perhaps the greatest legal problem concerning the parish which the classical law of the decretals of the period from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries up to the Council of Trent had to tackle was the relationship between the secular clergy and the religious orders, above all the new mendicant orders which arose at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the Dominicans and Franciscans in particular (the Augustinians and Carmelites were the other two of the four great orders whose convents were found in many cities). They could to some extent endanger or loosen the ties established by the Fourth Lateran Council binding the faithful to their parish.

Indeed if rivalries sometimes arose between the parish church and other minor churches, they were mostly modest and episodic. There were controversies, for example, between the parish church and some hospitals, where their great hall, which housed the sick, could also be used for the purposes of worship. But it had to be reserved only for the sick in bed and not for people who were well, who were held to frequent their parish church; or with noble or powerful families who claimed to be able to worship in the chapel of their castle or palace and who were allowed such a privilege.<sup>59</sup>

The most serious and persistent conflict, however, was that with the mendicant orders, a conflict which was protracted over roughly two centuries, above all because of their greater level of education and more effective preaching, which placed them in direct competition with the secular clergy, albeit only in the urban parishes.<sup>60</sup> It was a conflict which also had indirect consequences on questions of patrimony because of the fact that many of the faithful chose to be buried in the churches of the friars, a practice favoured by papal bulls. The controversy worsened, with the secular clergy on the one hand, supported by the bishop and, in Paris for example, by the university, and the mendicant orders on the other, favoured by the Apostolic See, with excommunications of both sides and frequent papal bulls, at times contradictory: a conflict which was not to find a resolution until the dispositions issued by the Council of Trent.<sup>61</sup>

58 Cf. Gaudemet, 'La paroisse au Moyen Âge', p. 18 and n. 44.

59 Gaudemet, 'La paroisse au Moyen Âge', p. 17; n. 38 on p. 17 quotes a text which appeared in an article published by Schmid, 'Gemeinschaftskirchen in Italien und Dalmatien', p. 34, which states that in 1188 the archbishop of Genoa granted a noble family the possibility of participating in the Mass in a private church, as the family could not go to the city parish of the cathedral without running the risk of danger.

60 Desportes, 'Réflexions sur la paroisse urbaine en France du Nord au bas Moyen Âge', p. 49: 'A partir approximativement du milieu du xiii<sup>ème</sup> siècle, les prérogatives pastorales du curé urbain à l'intérieur de sa circonscription sont sérieusement battues en brèche par les religieux Mendiant's.'

61 Cf. Gaudemet, 'La paroisse au Moyen Âge', p. 17.

## Brief Conclusions

In 2015 the anniversaries of two great general councils of the Catholic Church were celebrated: the 800 years since the Fourth Lateran Council and the 50 years since the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council. A dispute has arisen on the question of whether the Second Vatican Council is to be interpreted as a council of rupture or one of continuity. Many of the dispositions made in the Fourth Lateran Council were uninterrupted and confirmed by the Council of Trent against the Protestant Reformation, up until the Second Vatican Council, which certainly, on many dispositions concerning the parish, parish priests, the sacraments, the liturgy, and the ecclesiastical patrimony which had been issued by the Fourth Lateran Council, was a council of rupture rather than continuity. Things which, in numerous ways, had remained valid for almost eight centuries, if we think of the system of benefices, the cathedral chapter, and obligatory annual confession, were modified or revoked by the Second Vatican Council.

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## The Fourth Lateran Council and the Roman Clergy

In memory of Ulderico and Gaspare di Carpegna,  
cardinal priests of the *titulus* of S. Maria in  
Trastevere, 1661–1666 and 1689–1698

This article was first conceived in connection with the conference held in 1998 to celebrate the eight hundredth anniversary of the pontificate of Innocent III.<sup>1</sup> Although it lasted until July 1216, Innocent's pontificate had its crowning moment in the Fourth Lateran Council of November 1215: in an analogous way, the conference commemorating it was held in November 2015, and it has become a milestone in the study of this pope. Hence, by celebrating the two centenaries of the beginning of the pontificate in 1998 and its ecclesiological culmination in 2015, we have identified the alpha and the omega of the history of this pope, and we have also created some powerful historiographical tools. The great book produced by the 1998 conference speaks of the *Urbs* and the *Orbis*. This is also what we propose to do here, providing some information and putting forward some reflections on that fascinating game of mirrors, reverberations, and resonances which is specific to the relationship between Rome and the world, the microcosm of the city, its churches and its clergy, and the macrocosm of the medieval *societas christiana*, whose head and centre, its *caput*, was in Rome and the *Ecclesia romana*.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Sommerlechner, ed., *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis*.

2 It was a game of mirrors which, in November 2015, also manifested itself in the calendar, revealing a similarity between the past and the present that made what happened eight hundred years ago a little bit more comprehensible. Indeed, the solar calendar of 2015 was

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The first part of this article will offer a general presentation of the relationship between Innocent III, the clergy, and the churches of the city of Rome in the course of his entire pontificate: a relationship which was solid and was characterized by an effective will to create order and control. The second part tackles the heart of the problem and investigates the role of ecclesiastical Rome during the Fourth Lateran Council, principally in the legal and liturgical dimensions. It pays particular attention to Canons 32 (concerning the institution of vicars in the parishes held by prelates) and 44 (against the interference of the laity in the administration of ecclesiastical goods) — which show that they were conceived with a view to the reality of Rome — and it reflects on the highly symbolic significance of the choice of the places and the moments in which the council was held.

Besides the synodal constitutions, the sources examined are essentially the *Gesta Innocentii III* (which, as we know, only go up to 1208), the register of Innocent III's letters, the sermons that he pronounced during the Council, the descriptions of the Council by Riccardo di San Germano and those of an anonymous cleric from Giessen in Hesse, as well as some liturgical sources such as the *Acta consecrationis* of Santa Maria in Trastevere and the Roman Pontifical of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> There is a considerable amount of documentation, therefore, even though we must remember that we do not have any letters from Innocent III to the Roman churches for the years 1215–1216 (so research was extended to the previous years),<sup>4</sup> that we do not have any Roman chronicles dating to then, nor do we have any record of the Council in the private acts drawn up in the city.<sup>5</sup>

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identical to that of 1215. The first of November fell on a Sunday in 2015 and in 1215, and 29 November was the first Sunday of Advent in 2015 as in 1215.

<sup>3</sup> *Concilium Lateranense IV*, ed. by Alberigo and others; *Concilium Lateranense IV*, ed. by Mansi; *Gesta Innocentii III*, ed. by Migne; *Gesta di Innocenzo III*, trans. by Fioramonti, ed. by Barone and Paravicini Bagliani; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Auctor*, trans. by Powell; Innocent III, *Die Register*, ed. by Hageneder and others (for the years not yet published: *Innocentii III regestorum*, ed. by Migne); Kuttner and García y García, eds, 'A New Eyewitness Account'; Rycardi de Sancto Germano notarii, *Chronica*, ed. by Garufi; Schimmelpfennig, 'Ein Text zur Kirchweihe von S. Maria in Trastevere'; *Leggenda per la consacrazione di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, ed. by Bartoli, trans. by Mallo; *Le pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by Andrieu.

<sup>4</sup> From 1213: *Regesta pontificum Romanorum, inde ab a. post Christum natum 1198 ad a. 1304*, ed. by Potthast (henceforth: Potthast); I have identified nos. 4698 (S. Prisca), 4793 (S. Cecilia in Trastevere), 4919 (S. Pietro in Vaticano), and no number, p. 425 (the hospital of S. Spirito).

<sup>5</sup> There is an overview of the Roman documents in Carpegna Falconieri, 'Osservazioni sulle edizioni dei documenti romani dei secoli ix–xii'.

## Innocent III and the Roman Clergy

The theme of Innocent and the Roman clergy is by now pretty well known, thanks above all to studies by Giulia Barone which deal with the first ten years of Innocent's pontificate, as well as the work of Sandro Carocci on the higher aristocracy, and that of Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur on the commune of Rome.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the specific theme of the significance of the Lateran Council for the history of Rome has not yet become the object of study. The impact of this event, which was epoch-making in its size, resonance, and consequences, must have been impressive, but it is not known in detail. The anonymous writer from Giessen remembers the 'tumultum populi' which prevented him from listening to the words of the pope and the 'turba quasi harena que est in litore maris';<sup>7</sup> Riccardo di San Germano remembers the 'honorabiles [...] et copiosas expensas' made by his abbot for himself and his following: we can only imagine the economic spin-off created by 1500 prelates and those who accompanied them.<sup>8</sup> Yet many of the questions that we would like to ask remain unanswered.

Turning our attention to the relationship between Innocent III and the Roman clergy, we must, as a preliminary step, remember how there co-existed in the city, then as now, two distinct clergies: the pontifical clergy — the Roman Curia — and the urban clergy.<sup>9</sup> It is not possible here to deal with the themes of the cardinalate, nepotism, or the Curia at the time of Innocent III, and we must refer above all to the works by Werner Maleczek and Sandro Carocci, and in general to the impressive bibliographical review of the thirteenth-century papacy by Agostino Paravicini Baglioni.<sup>10</sup> It is enough to remember that around half the sacred college — about thirty people in all — was made up of cardinals from Rome and Lazio, and that among these at least three were fairly close relatives of the pope. We can, however, deal in some more detail with the interventions of the pope in the city of Rome. Innocent III operated in a perspective of organization and control which is already evident from the time of the pontificate of Clement III (1187–1191). Innocent reformed and reordered, acting with a particularly pervasive capacity, according to a general principle of action which is clearly visible throughout the Patrimony

6 Barone, 'Innocenzo III e il comune di Roma'; Carocci, *Baroni di Roma*, esp. pp. 371–80; Maire Vigueur, *L'autre Rome*. See also Carpegna Falconieri, 'Libertas Ecclesiae e riforma nel Lazio di Innocenzo III'; Carpegna Falconieri, *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo*.

7 Kuttner and García y García, eds, 'A New Eyewitness Account', pp. 124, 125; cf. *Judg.* 7. 12.

8 Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii, *Chronica*, ed. by Garufi, p. 63. Stephen, abbot of Montecassino, remained in Rome throughout the month of November up until the *quattro tempora* of Christmas.

9 Several years ago I published a bibliographical review of the ongoing studies on this subject, which I quote here with a number of *additamenta* which will be indicated along the way: Carpegna Falconieri, 'Il clero secolare nel basso medioevo'.

10 Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216*; Carocci, *Il nepotismo nel medioevo*; Paravicini Baglioni, *Il papato nel secolo XIII*.

of St Peter and above all in Lazio.<sup>11</sup> His governance of the clergy has a solid framework, which can be assimilated in some way to his control over the entire city, gained after the many struggles described in the *Gesta*. But with a difference, since from Innocent's pontificate, barring rare exceptions, the urban clergy of Rome no longer sided against the pope, as had often been the case in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Let us consider, therefore, some of the ways in which Innocent III's ecclesiastical governance of the city expressed itself: we must remember the parishioners secretly registered by the census at the beginning of the pontificate<sup>12</sup> and the gift of 130 silver chalices to the parishes which lacked one (both acts that show a capillary control even from an administrative point of view), the actions directly concerning the clergy which are recorded in the register of letters, the replies to the legal queries brought by the rectors of the *Romana fraternitas*, that is, the association of the urban clergy, and the increasingly evident presence on the scene of the same *Romana fraternitas*, which the pope had to use generally for guiding and controlling the Roman clergy.<sup>13</sup> At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the members of the association of the Roman clergy were buried according to a peculiar ritual; for the first time, therefore, in the period of Innocent's papacy, the urban clergy of Rome was considered so singular in its prerogatives and institutions that it was necessary to create a specific funeral rite: the *Ordo sepeliendi clericos Romanae fraternitatis*.<sup>14</sup> The ecclesiastical governance of the city by the pope also expressed itself in the revision of some parish boundaries, as is attested for San Lorenzo in Lucina, San Marcello, San Giovanni in Laterano, SS. Quattro Coronati, S. Lorenzo in Piscinula, S. Cecilia in Trastevere, and SS. Sergio and Bacco.<sup>15</sup> Just as, if not more, notable was the consolidated presence of a vicar.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, substitutes for the pope are shown to have existed in the city from the 1120s,<sup>17</sup> but the almost uninterrupted series of them begins with the pontificate of Innocent III. For the thirteenth century alone we know the names of eighteen bishops or cardinals: we are truly at the origins of the institution of the cardinal vicar. The first of Innocent's vicars was his

<sup>11</sup> These are the conclusions reached several years ago: cf. Carpegna Falconieri, 'Libertas Ecclesiae e riforma nel Lazio di Innocenzo III'. See also, above all for the relationship between the Fourth Lateran Council and the neighbouring area of Rome, Petrucci, 'Vescovi e cura d'anime nel Lazio (sec. xiii–xv)'; Carpegna Falconieri and Bovalino, 'Commovetur sequenti die curia tota', pp. 126–30.

<sup>12</sup> 'Per singulas parochiales ecclesias fecit singulos parochiales occulte describi, ut sciret et numerum et qualitatem ipsorum' (*Gesta Innocentii III*, ed. by Migne, cols 21–22).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Carpegna Falconieri, 'Libertas Ecclesiae e riforma nel Lazio di Innocenzo III', pp. 735–36; Twyman, 'The Romana Fraternitas and Urban Processions at Rome', p. 206.

<sup>14</sup> *Ordo sepeliendi clericos Romanae fraternitatis*, ed. by Andrieu.

<sup>15</sup> Carpegna Falconieri, *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo*, pp. 227–35.

<sup>16</sup> On which we can now read the study by Ambrogio Brambilla republished by Filippo Lovison: Brambilla, 'Origine ed evoluzione dell'ufficio del Card. Vicario di Roma fino all'anno 1558'.

<sup>17</sup> Carpegna Falconieri, *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo*, p. 108 n. 20.

relative Ottaviano Conti, bishop of Ostia, attested to in 1198, followed by Pietro Gallochia, bishop of Porto, attested to in 1206 and 1207; when he was still cardinal Lotario di Segni, the pope had dedicated his *De miseria humanae conditionis* precisely to this Pietro.

Even the 'città rituale', to use the apt expression coined by Maria Antonietta Visceglia,<sup>18</sup> was subject to the pope's administrative care. We know some of his reforms of the stational liturgy and the development of the *Letania maior*, the procession in Rome in which the entire clergy took part on 25 April. We can also mention, as salient events, the coronation of Peter II, king of Aragon, in San Pancrazio in 1204,<sup>19</sup> the entrance of Frederick, king of Sicily, in 1212, and finally the procession known as the *Supplicatio generalis* of the same year, 1212.<sup>20</sup> Indeed we can state that Innocent III controlled and profoundly reorganized the ecclesiastical Rome of his time. There are five well-known cases which we shall briefly present.

The first is the case of the nunnery of San Sisto. Initially, in 1204, Innocent III prohibited all the abbesses of the nunneries of Rome from selling, alienating, or granting as a benefice any immovable goods without consulting the pope or his vicar; then, in 1207, he built the monastery of San Sisto (now SS. Domenico and Sisto), in which he intended to concentrate all the female religious of Rome, in an attempt to channel female religiosity which was shortly to undergo a great development, above all with his successors.<sup>21</sup> It was followed by the case of San Pietro in Vaticano, on whose clergy we finally have some important studies.<sup>22</sup> It was a clergy at the border between the Rome of the Romans and papal Rome, which had strong links with Innocent, who *in minoribus* had been a Vatican canon himself, like another five of the cardinals who had elected him, and who had himself consecrated and enthroned on the day of the Chair of St Peter (22 February) which gave the basilica its title 'mater cunctarum ecclesiarum'.<sup>23</sup>

We can also remember the papal permission to create leaden images of the *Agnus Dei* for pilgrims, the important measures towards strengthening the patrimony, above all in the central years of his pontificate, and the important building and artistic works which were commissioned by Pope Innocent.<sup>24</sup> There is also the case of Santo Spirito, which has been studied above all

<sup>18</sup> Visceglia, *La città rituale*.

<sup>19</sup> Barclay Lloyd, 'The Church and Monastery of S. Pancrazio in Rome', p. 245.

<sup>20</sup> Twyman, 'The Romana Fraternitas and Urban Processions at Rome'.

<sup>21</sup> Maccarrone, 'Il progetto di un "universale coenobium" per le monache di Roma'; Barclay Lloyd, 'The Architectural Planning of Pope Innocent III's Nunnery of San Sisto in Rome'. We still have the documents of this nunnery: *Le più antiche carte del convento di San Sisto in Roma*, ed. by Carbonetti Venditti.

<sup>22</sup> Stocchi, *Il Capitolo di San Pietro in Vaticano dalle origini al xx secolo*; Johrendt, *Die Diener des Apostelfürsten*.

<sup>23</sup> Johrendt, *Il capitolo di San Pietro*, pp. 67–69.

<sup>24</sup> Iacobini, 'Est Haec Sacra Principis Aedes'; Gauvain, *Il Capitolo di San Pietro in Vaticano dalle origini al xx secolo*.

by Gisela Drossbach.<sup>25</sup> In 1202 Innocent III gave Guy de Montpellier, the founder of the Order of the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit, the church of S. Maria in Sassia, and in 1208 he brought the order and its leaders to Rome and established a *statio* in the hospital of S. Spirito in Sassia, which was to take place on the first Sunday after the eighth day after the Epiphany. Closely connected to the *statio* in S. Spirito was the worship of Veronica, who was taken in procession by the canons of the Vatican.<sup>26</sup> We can add to this the case of S. Tommaso in Formis. In 1198 Innocent approved the rule of the Order of the Trinitarians, and in 1209 he gave its founder the church of S. Tommaso on the Caelian hill.<sup>27</sup> Finally, we must remember the case of the *titulus* of Santa Prisca on the Aventine, which was reformed and given to the Benedictines of Vendôme in 1213.<sup>28</sup>

What do we have here, then? Extensive interventions concerning a nunnery, the principal basilica of the *Urbe*, a hospital that was soon to become famous, the first seat of a new religious order devoted to the redemption of prisoners and reform, entrusted to monks, and an ancient *titulus*, that is, a church with a baptismal font situated in a relatively unurbanized area. The range of these cases is as wide as it is varied. Given the peculiar situation of the documents concerning Rome and above all the way in which the pope's action of governance of the city is documented (the pope, as we know, often acted through orders which were only given in an oral form), we can hypothesize that these five interventions by the pope are testimony to an activity which was in reality even more intense.

## Rome: Theatre of the Council

Let us now enter into the heart of the question, bearing in mind at the same time the scarcity of information on the Roman clergy and its participation in the Lateran Council. The clerics were obviously present everywhere and necessarily undertook roles of organization and participation, but we can only surmise this. Even given the lack of sources, we can follow at least two paths, one centring on the legal aspect and the other on the liturgical.

As for the first theme, an initial question to ask is: to what extent can the experience of the ecclesiastical governance of Rome, that is to say, the strictly local situation, have been at the origin of council decisions or in what way can they have conditioned them? This also considering the fact that we know how

<sup>25</sup> Drossbach, 'Innocenzo III e l'Ordine di S. Spirito in Sassia'; Drossbach, "Regularis ordo ... per nos institutus esse dinoscitur"; Drossbach, *Christliche caritas als Rechtsinstitut*. On the period after the thirteenth century, see also the studies by Andreas Rehberg, such as his 'La restituzione dei mala ablata nell'operato dell'ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia, sec. xiii–xvi'.

<sup>26</sup> Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III. und die Veronica'; Morello, "Or fu si fatta la sembianza vostra?"

<sup>27</sup> Now see Cipollone and Boari, eds, *Riflessi di politica papale verso i Saraceni al tempo di Innocenzo III*.

<sup>28</sup> Potthast, no. 4698.

authoritarian Innocent III was: the pope listened, but then decided many things on his own. In order to attempt to answer this question, it is important in the first place to reflect on the fact that, even though it intended to create norms of a general and definitive nature, the Council did not take place in a void outside space and time. The Council was convened and celebrated in order to respond to the urgency of the present: naturally the appeal for the crusade, but much else too. Michele Maccarrone has pointed out how the fathers of the Fourth Lateran Council had before them above all the reality of the communes of north and central Italy,<sup>29</sup> and many of its sessions discussed collateral topics, among which the problems of the see of the primate in Spain.<sup>30</sup> The Council also fixed in law things which arose from contingent difficulties; it discussed alien customs and behaviours, such as the religious administration of the new Latin Empire of the East,<sup>31</sup> or the competition — amusing, but considered reprehensible — as to who could drink the most, ‘potus aequales’, widespread, according to Canon 15 ‘in aliquibus gentibus’, ‘which a Paris gloss stated was practised in particular by the English, the Poles, and the Hungarians’.<sup>32</sup> So the urgency of the present determined the general norms, at least in part. We have the meta-historical time of the law, which corresponds, however, to the historical time of necessity, to which solutions have to be found.<sup>33</sup>

29 Maccarrone, “*Cura animarum*” e “*parochialis sacerdos*” nelle costituzioni del IV Concilio Lateranense’, p. 347.

30 This session took place in the *camera pro secretis consiliis* in the Lateran palace, before frescoes that portrayed anti-popes, on which see Herklotz, *Gli eredi di Costantino*, pp. 113–31. The place chosen for the discussion seems to be particularly interesting, since among the anti-popes portrayed was Maurizio Burdino – Gregorio VIII (1118–1122), archbishop of Braga, represented in an extremely harsh light before his successor as archbishop. The frescoes representing the defeat of the anti-pope served, therefore, to explain to those present the right line to follow: ‘Hoc non solum authentica historia testatur, verum etiam laicorum pictura hoc asserit et protestatur. Si quis astantium hac de re dubitat, tollat oculos ad praesentis huius loci paretes, et videbit huiusmodi historiam picturatam. Erigentes autem oculos, omnia, ut dixerat, viderunt: et domini Toletani subtilitatem et peritiam collaudantes, coopernt tum admurmurare, tum etiam in domini Bracarensis faciem intendere, quae magno jam erat rubore perfusa’: *Concilium Lateranense IV*, ed. by Mansi, col. 1072; Kuttner and García y García, eds, ‘A New Eyewitness Account’, pp. 136–38.

31 García y García, ‘Las constituciones del Concilio IV Lateranense de 1215’, pp. 210–11.

32 Maccarrone, “*Cura animarum*” e “*parochialis sacerdos*” nelle costituzioni del IV Concilio Lateranense’, p. 315; Maccarrone goes on to state that this use ‘non pare fosse comune in Italia’. Canon 15, *De arcenda ebrietate clericorum*, states: ‘Unde illum abusum decernimus penitus abolendum, quo in quibusdam partibus ad potus aequales suo modo se obligant potatores, et ille iudicium talium plus laudatur, qui plures inebriat et calices faecundiores exhaustit’ (*Concilium Lateranense IV*, ed. by Alberigo and others).

33 The ‘*statuta humana*’ can change in time and the fathers of the Council were perfectly aware of this. See in particular Canon 50, *De restricta prohibitione matrimonii*, concerning the forms in which marriage between relatives was licit: ‘Non debet reprehensibile iudicari si secundum varietatem temporum statuta quandoque varientur humana præsertim cum urgens necessitas vel evidens utilitas id exposcit quoniam ipse Deus ex his quæ in veteri testamento statuerat nonnulla mutavit in novo’ (*Concilium Lateranense IV*, ed. by Alberigo and others).

The examples concerning Rome have to be placed against the wholly exceptional background represented by the city, as Rome *was always* the object of comparison (or regret, admiration, or defamation) in the culture of the medieval West. The Roman liturgy had functioned as a model for the West since as far back as the early Middle Ages, and continued to do so, naturally, with the spread of the Roman Missal;<sup>34</sup> in some cases, the city of Rome itself was a model of reference from an institutional point of view too, and this was the case for Innocent III. In 1208 he replied to two canon law questions raised by the rectors of the *Romana fraternitas*, and his replies were placed in Gregory IX's collection of decretals.<sup>35</sup> In what cases, then, did Rome represent the urgency of the present which determined the general norm? The first case is probable; the second is certain.

The first probable case relates to Canon 32 on the vicars.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, it faithfully reflects the situation of the *tituli*, that is to say, the baptismal churches of Rome, where ever since the eleventh century at least there had been the problem of defining the relationship between the cardinal priest, who was the titular of the parish but had liturgical duties in the major basilicas and tasks which often took him far away, and the archpriest, who was the priest effectively in charge of the care of souls.

The second case, which instead is certain, relates to Canon 44,<sup>37</sup> which has in its incipit the text of a sentence of 27 November 1199 which settled a dispute between S. Silvestro in Capite and S. Maria in Via Lata concerning some agricultural possessions.<sup>38</sup> The canon transposes the dictates of this sentence into general terms, which then ended up in the collection of decretals. The sentence is long and complex. The case had already been judged by Benedetto Carushomo (a monocratic senator from the end of 1191 to 1193), who had entrusted it to the judge Leone and in appeal to Sasso, the *primicerius* of the judges.<sup>39</sup> It had then been discussed again in 1197 by the councillors of the

<sup>34</sup> De Blaauw, 'Liturgical Features of Roman Churches'; Carpegna Falconieri, "Sicut ad Sanctum Petrum Romae agebatur".

<sup>35</sup> Potthast, no. 3503, 1208 Sept. 12. 'Is qui de magis arcta religione transit ad minus arctam non est substinendum in illa.' In the decretal *Per venerabilem* of 1202 (*Innocentii III regestorum*, ed. by Migne, 214, col. 1130), Innocent III equated the relationship of the pope with the cardinals to that between the bishops and the canons: cf. Alberigo, *Cardinalato e collegialità*, p. 101.

<sup>36</sup> Canon 32: 'Qui vero parochiale habet ecclesiam, non per vicarium sed per seipsum illi deserviat in ordine, quem ipsis ecclesiae cura requirit, nisi forte prebendae vel dignitati parochialis ecclesia sit annexa; in quo caso concedimus, ut is qui talem habeat praebendam vel dignitatem, cum oporteat eum in maiori ecclesia deservire, in ipsa parochiali ecclesia idoneum et perpetuum studeat habere vicarium canonice institutum' (*Concilium Lateranense IV*, ed. by Alberigo and others).

<sup>37</sup> Canon 44, *Quod constitutiones principum non priuident ecclesiis*: 'Cum laicis, quamvis religiosis, disponendi de rebus ecclesiasticis nulla sit attributa potestas, quos subsequendi manet necessitas, non auctoritare imperandi' (*Concilium Lateranense IV*, ed. by Alberigo and others).

<sup>38</sup> Innocent III, *Die Register*, ed. by Hageneder and others, ii, doc. 230, pp. 439–44 (p. 444).

<sup>39</sup> On the figure of Benedetto Carushomo and this act of his, 'di fondamentale importanza per

Senate, leading to an exacerbation of the quarrel ‘usque ad armorum strepitu est processus’. Celestine III had intervened and had entrusted the case to as many as three cardinals.<sup>40</sup> They had issued a sentence in favour of S. Maria, while the senators remained undecided. Innocent III annulled all the senatorial sentences of Benedetto Carushomo, considered to be a usurper, and ruled in favour of S. Silvestro, declaring that ‘laymen, even if they are pious, have no power to dispose of ecclesiastical goods: they are held to obey and not to command’.<sup>41</sup>

As we have said, we find the same expression in the incipit of Canon 44. Indeed, here it is particularly clear how the Roman case — lay interference (presented as such) in the time of Benedetto Carushomo and the consequent affirmation of *libertas ecclesiastica* — is the contingent event whose resolution gave form to the general canonical disposition.

Let us move on now to look at Rome as a sacred space at the time of the Lateran Council. Rome is a city-sanctuary made up of hundreds of sacred sites, a kaleidoscope of *lieux de mémoire* held together from a social point of view by the liturgy.<sup>42</sup> And there is no doubt that for the Council the liturgy had an outstanding importance. First of all, we must note therefore the choice of times and places. The Council was celebrated in autumn, during the ordinary time of the liturgical year, rather than in the spring, during Lent and close to Easter, a period in which the three previous Lateran councils of the twelfth century had been celebrated and in general the favourite period

la storia del diritto e per quella del Senato romano’: Boesch Gajano, ‘Benedetto Carushomo’.

40 Pietro di Porto, Giovanni di Albano (and priest of S. Clemente), and Gregorio deacon of S. Angelo.

41 Innocent III, *Die Register*, ed. by Hageneder and others, ii, doc. 230, p. 444: ‘His ergo et similibus in nostra et fratrorum nostrorum presentia prudenter a partibus allegatis, nos attendantes, quod laicis etiam religiosis super ecclesiis et personis ecclesiasticis nulla sit attributa potestas, quos obsequendi manet necessitas non auctoritate imperandi’ In the margin to the central theme we can note that this document appears to be interesting for the history of the Roman Church because it seems to signal the transition of the government of the urban clergy under direct and exclusive ecclesiastical authority, while in the twelfth century we often see them being judged by civil magistrates, chosen by the senators. See in fact, on p. 443, the testimony of the bursar of S. Maria in Via Lata, who observed: ‘Nec novum sit nec insolitum, quod ubi clerici sunt actor et reus, causas civiles in Urbe coram iudicibus per sedem apostolicam institutis ex delegatione senatorum ab ea iurisdictionem habentium prosequantur. Unde nec in alieno foro intelliguntur sed in proprio Romani pontificis litigare, cuius auctoritate sortiri videntur effectum, que ab huiusmodi senatoribus vel iudicibus statuantur’. We are in the same climate as that of the increasing regulation of the figure of the vicar — who was to become the cardinal vicar — and the strengthening of the *Romana fraternitas*.

42 Let us follow for a minute the tradition of studies by Michel Andrieu, Pierre Jounel, Sible de Blaauw, and Victor Saxer and his ‘L’utilisation de la liturgie dans l’espace urbain et suburbain’ in particular. Among recent studies, see also Wickham, *Roma medievale*, pp. 375–440, chapter ‘La geografia rituale e identitaria’ and in this, paragraph 1 in particular, ‘La costruzione rituale di Roma’; Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome*. Finally, we can refer to Carpegna Falconieri, ‘Roma aeterna’.

for synods. The reason would appear to be obvious: the date had been chosen to allow the crusade to depart the following spring (indeed spring is not only the time of the resurrection, but also that of military campaigns); the appointment at the ports of Sicily and Puglia was for 1 June. However, this ordinary time of November also had great symbolic value for the affirmation of Rome as *caput Ecclesiae*. Indeed, it included the dedications of the basilicas of San Giovanni, San Pietro, and San Paolo. November was an appropriate choice not only because it would allow for preparations for the crusade and might have allowed many to return home for Christmas, but also because it corresponded to the ritual time that solemnly celebrated the major churches of the *Urbe*, through which all of ecclesiastical Rome manifested itself, with all its cardinals, curialists, clerics, and with the canons of the basilicas who, although not recorded in the council sources, we know played an important role in the pontifical celebrations.

We can clearly see a rational geometrical construction in the choice of the times and the places which speaks to those who understood this language. The places and times of the Council could almost be represented by diagrams, circles, squares, or colours, according to a way of symbolically interpreting the texts which was also used to explain a work by Lotario di Segni at the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>43</sup> The Council opened and closed in San Giovanni, the celebration of S. Pietro fell in the middle, and another two very important churches that we are about to identify were also involved. The opening of the council was held on Wednesday 11 November, the feast of St Martin, two days after the feast of the dedication of the basilica (which was on 9 November). The council began, therefore, within the eight days after the dedication, which was celebrated day by day, and which, as Pierre Jounel has pointed out, had clear references to the dedication of the Temple of Jerusalem by Solomon, which also lasted eight days.<sup>44</sup>

This was followed by the sessions of debate in the Lateran palace, then the consecration of S. Maria in Trastevere on Sunday 15 November, which we will speak of later, and then the feast of the dedication of the Vatican basilica on 18 November. Hence the first week of the Council took place in the eight days after the dedication of St John, and the second in the eight days after the dedication of St Peter, which was also celebrated day by day.<sup>45</sup> The sources which narrate the Council do not report it, but we know from various other testimony that on the Sunday before its closure, 29 November, a third papal basilica was to be the protagonist of the liturgy: Saint Mary Major. Indeed, 29 November was the first Sunday of Advent and ever since the twelfth century this had corresponded to the 'statio ad Sanctam Mariam

43 Hanne, 'Innocent III et l'image'.

44 Jounel, *Le culte des saints*, pp. 305–07. On the interpretation of San Giovanni in Laterano as the Temple of Jerusalem, see Longo, 'Dimensione locale e aspirazioni universali a Roma nel xii secolo'.

45 Jounel, *Le culte des saints*, pp. 311–15.

Maiorem'.<sup>46</sup> In all probability the pope went to the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore on 29 November 1215 to celebrate the stational liturgy together with the entire papal chapel, the *canonici liberiani*, and a significant part of the Roman clergy.

The Lateran, the Vatican, S. Maria Maggiore: there is one basilica missing, San Paolo fuori le Mura, which is not recorded in any of the sources. Indeed, the anonymous cleric from Giessen, who demonstrates here that he did not know the city very well, believed that the Vatican basilica was dedicated to both apostles, Peter and Paul.<sup>47</sup> Instead, Sunday 15 November saw the consecration of the basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere, an episode on which there is a good bibliography,<sup>48</sup> and the memory of which, the *Acta consecrationis*, has been handed down by a thirteenth-century lectionary, BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 10999. The consecration was an event held to be memorable within the council. Besides the *Acta consecrationis*, a report of the events has reached us above all through the anonymous cleric from Giessen, a pleasant German cleric who, rather than transcribing the speeches and describing the ritual, was mesmerized by the crowds, the greatness of Rome, and its magnificence. The same ceremony is also recorded in the necrology, that is to say, the *liber memorialis* of S. Maria in Trastevere, and in the chronicle of Martinus Polonus inserted in the *Liber pontificalis*.<sup>49</sup>

This consecration was a feast of the Roman *popolo*, or rather the *popolo* of Trastevere.<sup>50</sup> The city was strongly and clearly involved in the event,

46 Saxer, *Sainte-Marie-Majeure*, pp. 275–79.

47 'In octava beati Martini vidi turbam quasi harenam que est in litore maris ad ecclesiam beati Petri et Pauli ob anniversarium sue dedicationis diem ex universis mundi partibus confluentem, et dominum papam per multitudinem hominum, in pressura maxima et vicos et plateas [cf. Cant. 3. 2] ambulantium, vix accessum ad ecclesiam beati Petri habuisse': Kuttner and García y García, eds, 'A New Eyewitness Account', p. 125.

48 Moretti, *Ritus dandi presbyterium papae, cardinalibus et clericis*, app. III, pp. 380–82; Kuttner and García y García, eds, 'A New Eyewitness Account'; Kinney, 'S. Maria in Trastevere from its Founding to 1215', pp. 213–15, 335–47; Schimmelpfennig, 'Ein Text zur Kirchweihe von S. Maria in Trastevere'; *Leggenda per la consacrazione di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, ed. by Bartoli, trans. by Mallo, esp. pp. 60–67; Kinney, 'The Image of a Building', p. 29; Bartoli, 'Liturgia ed ecclesiologia'. There has also been a *Giornata di studio in occasione dell'VIII centenario della consacrazione di S. Maria in Trastevere*, Rome, 7 November 2015.

49 *Necrologio di S. Maria in Trastevere*, ed. by Egidi, p. 89 (notice of the death of card. Guido, 'qui fecit consecrari hanc ecclesiam', on 10 January), pp. 100–101, notice of the consecration, on 15 November; Martinus Polonus, *Chronica*, ed. by Duchesne, p. 452.

50 Kuttner and García y García, eds, 'A New Eyewitness Account', p. 125: 'Prima dominica post Martini quis adesse non cuperet in tanta gloria? Summus pontifex ad consecrandam ecclesiam beate Marie que ad Oleum fundentem nuncupata est honorificentissime conducitur. Romanorum nobilissimi, sericis et purpureis circumamicti [cf. Esth. 8. 15], in timpano et choro, in cordis et organo [cf. Ps. 150. 4], necnon et in tubis quodam concrepanti sonitu barrentibus, sub sequente infinita cleri et populi multitudine ipsum precedebant. Pueri Romanorum, tollentes ramos olivarum, obviaverunt domino clamantes et dicentes, sicut sui moris est, Kyrieleyson, Christeleyson [cf. the first antiphon on the distribution of the palm leaves on Palm Sunday] indesinenter. Statim ex altera parte pontis per quem ad predictam iter est ecclesiam, lampades innumerabiles per vicos et plateas [cf. Cant.

as explicitly recorded on this occasion only in the sources relating to the Council. This ceremony represents the equally singular circumstance of the Council in which Roman clerics — the canons of the basilica — were explicitly involved.<sup>51</sup> This should not surprise us, however: the Roman clerics are recorded here not because they were only present on this occasion, but because the source, a lectionary to be read publicly in the course of the eight days of the dedication,<sup>52</sup> was redacted by one of them for their use. But why was Santa Maria in Trastevere chosen to be honoured during the Council by reconsecrating it? Various interpretations have been put forward here.<sup>53</sup> Mine is that it is very difficult to believe that the choice should fall on the basilica for some spontaneous motive: the heavenly voice heard by the titular cardinal, followed by a discussion with his confreres on the eve of St Calixtus (14 October),<sup>54</sup> and the case made before the pope by a designated orator the following Sunday (18 October), which ended with Innocent enthusiastically accepting the proposal, and hence the celebration of the rite, which took place 'in the fullness of the Council', 'in illa concilii plenitudine' on 15 November.<sup>55</sup> This story is edifying and represents the way in which the canons of S. Maria in Trastevere handed down the memory of the event, but it must certainly be put together and justified with something else as the Council was prepared two years in advance.

The question is above all political. Santa Maria in Trastevere was of capital importance. It was a church of popes: it was the church of Anacletus II Pierleoni (1130–1138) and Innocent II Papareschi (1130–1143), who had himself depicted in it and — centuries after his death — was buried there.<sup>56</sup> It is

3. 2.] in funibus dependentes proprie claritatis ardore serenitatem illius diei sibi cedere contendebant. Vexillorum et purpurarum que in domibus et in altis turris Romanorum expanduntur certus non extimabatur numerus. [...]. Fere totus ille dies ad consecrationem illius ecclesiae deductus est. Nam circa vesperas primum dominus papa non cum minori sollempnitate rursum a Romanis ad palatium reducitur'. See also *ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>51</sup> 'Peractis enim vesperis in vigilia beati Calixti, cepit cum fratribus suis ecclesie Sante Marie diligenter de consecratione habere tractatum. Cum quibus sic extitit deliberatum, quod sequenti die dominico post festum beati Calixti totum Transtiberinum populum ante missarum solemnia ficeret congregari et cum eis, qualiter agendum esset, deliberarent [...]. Congregatis itaque omnibus clericis, militibus, peditibus, cum maxima exultatione papam adierunt' (Schimmelpfennig, 'Ein Text zur Kirchweihe von S. Maria in Trastevere', p. 48).

<sup>52</sup> Kinney, 'S. Maria in Trastevere from its Founding to 1215', pp. 213–15.

<sup>53</sup> Kinney, 'S. Maria in Trastevere from its Founding to 1215', p. 335.

<sup>54</sup> We can remember that the basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere bears the name *titulus Calixti*.

<sup>55</sup> Schimmelpfennig, 'Ein Text zur Kirchweihe von S. Maria in Trastevere', p. 48; *Leggenda per la consacrazione di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, ed. by Bartoli, trans. by Mallo, pp. 62–65. Innocent III allegedly replied as follows: 'A Domino factium est istud, quod vos illius ecclesie consecrationi petistis, et es mirabile in oculis nostris, quia Innocentius [II] fecit corpus, Innocentius [III] immittet animam'.

<sup>56</sup> See Kinney, 'The Image of a Building'; Kinney, 'Patronage of Art and Architecture', pp. 365–80 (for the contribution of Innocent II); Locke Perchuk, 'Schismatic (Re)Visions'; and Locke Perchuk, 'Anacletus II, the Pierleoni and the Rebuilding of Rome', who maintains that important work on the basilica was commissioned by the titular cardinal and then by

known that the Papareschi exercised control over this church up until the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Besides Pope Innocent II, we can mention various canons and cardinals who belonged to this family, among whom Cardinal Guido de Papa, who was the protagonist of the consecration of 1215 and who was happy to ask for the intervention of the successor to 'his' pope, a pope — Innocent III — who bore the same name.<sup>58</sup> Through the Papareschi we can arrive at the urban clergy: a Guido de Papa — who may be the same person at a previous point in his career — was the rector of the *Romana fraternitas* and a canon of Santa Maria in Trastevere in the 1180s, and we also know the names of another two rectors of the same association of the Roman clergy who belonged to the church at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries.<sup>59</sup> S. Maria in Trastevere was a church which, over a long period of time, was also dear and important to the urban clergy of Rome and to the population of Rome and, even more so, to that of Trastevere.<sup>60</sup> In the mid-eleventh century its cardinal was a nephew of Innocent III, Stefano Conti, created in 1216.<sup>61</sup>

To this familiar and social aspect we can add the liturgical. Santa Maria in Trastevere was a church which at that time tended to serve as the papal basilica. It was a station church on three days of the year: the first of January (the circumcision of Jesus), the sixteenth day of Lent (the Wednesday after the second Sunday of Lent), and the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost (this station, however, came after the pontificate of Innocent III as it was instituted by Gregory IX). The hypothesis that we feel able to maintain is that the basilica was used to stand in for the basilica of St Paul when it was held that St Paul's could not be used or could not be accessed (something that happened on more than one occasion in the modern age).<sup>62</sup> In theory,

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the (anti-)pope Pietro Pierleoni – Anacletus II at the time of Calixtus II (1119–1124) and that the church was the object of Innocent II's attention only after the death of his rival, the memory of whom was erased. See also Riccioni, *The Visual Experience of the Triumphant Church*, pp. 8–14, 40–46.

<sup>57</sup> Kinney, 'S. Maria in Trastevere from its Founding to 1215', pp. 346–47.

<sup>58</sup> Guido de Papa, nephew of Innocent II, was cardinal of S. Maria in Trastevere from 1191 to 1206, then he became bishop of Palestrina while keeping his presbyteral title; he died in 1221. Cf. Moretti, *Ritus dandi presbyterium papae, cardinalibus et clericis*, pp. 376–77, n. 19; Moretti, *De S. Callisto pp. et mm. ejusque basilica S. Mariae Trans Tyberim*, pp. 9–11; Kinney, 'S. Maria in Trastevere from its Founding to 1215', pp. 339–40; *Leggenda per la consacrazione di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, ed. by Bartoli, trans. by Mallo, p. 62. It is probably the same person recorded as priest of S. Maria in Trastevere and rector of the *Romana fraternitas* in 1181–1182.

<sup>59</sup> *Regesta pontificum romanorum: Italia Pontificia*, ed. by Kehr, i, p. 14, n. 25; *Patrologia latina*, ed. Migne, cciv, col. 1391, a. 1181–1182; col. 1391, a. 1188; Liverani, *Opere, frammenti di storia ecclesiastica*, no. 123, pp. 258–64, a. 1127; Ferri, 'Le carte dell'Archivio Liberiano', n. 26, year 1212.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica, sub voce 'Chiese di Roma'*, xi, pp. 166, 170.

<sup>61</sup> He was the son of his brother Riccardo and he lived until 1254; Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216, ad indicem*.

<sup>62</sup> The research still has to be completed. We know that S. Maria was used in place of San Paolo during the holy years of 1625, 1700, and 1825 to profit from the holy year.

on 18 November 1215 the dedication of the basilica of St Paul should also have taken place, but evidently the ceremony, even if it was held, was not included in the liturgy of the Council. By contrast, it is highly possible that, knowing in advance that the Council was to take place in November, a month of rain and with the Tiber full, the basilica of Trastevere had been chosen in place of the basilica on the via Ostiense, which was far from the city and situated in an area that frequently flooded.

Moreover and above all, the choice of S. Maria in Trastevere should be connected to the liturgy of the advent of Christmas. It was Innocent III himself who stated this during the consecration of the basilica: 'Dignum est, ut ille locus ab omnibus hominibus honoretur, in quo Dominus signum olei tempore sue nativitatis dignatus est demonstrare'.<sup>63</sup> Santa Maria in Trastevere is the church that prepares for Christmas through a miracle, the miracle of the fountain of oil that issued forth unexpectedly, which announced the birth of Christ (one of the *mirabilia* of the *Urbe*), and where Innocent II also renovated the Chapel of the Nativity.<sup>64</sup> The Birth of Christ, therefore, is announced in Rome, first (on 15 November) in the basilica of Trastevere, and two weeks later (on 29 November) in that of S. Maria Maggiore, S. Maria ad Praesepem which, as it preserves the relic of the Crib of Bethlehem, is the church of Christmas par excellence.

The Council ended in the Lateran basilica on Monday 30 November, St Andrew's day. The decision to close the Council on the day of this apostle could also bear a hidden meaning, which has still in part to be discovered.<sup>65</sup> Andrew was certainly a much worshipped saint in Rome, where various churches were dedicated to him and where relics of his arm and head had been preserved from the twelfth century at least.<sup>66</sup> In 1206, after the Fourth Crusade and the Latin conquest of Constantinople, Cardinal Pietro Capuano removed the body of Andrew from the city, of which he is patron saint, and he transferred it to Amalfi. From the fourteenth century, on the other hand, there is evidence of a tradition in which his body is supposedly buried in San Pietro in Vaticano.<sup>67</sup> It is possible to hypothesize that the decision to end the

<sup>63</sup> Schimmelpfennig, 'Ein Text zur Kirchweihe von S. Maria in Trastevere', p. 47; *Leggenda per la consacrazione di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, ed. by Bartoli, trans. by Mallo, pp. 66–67. The pope granted a three-year indulgence to those who visited the basilica in the eight days after the consecration and an indulgence of one year to those who then visited it from then on, on the anniversary.

<sup>64</sup> Kinney, 'The Praesepia in Santa Maria in Trastevere and Santa Maria Maggiore'; Kinney, 'Patronage of Art and Architecture', p. 373; Kinney, 'The Image of a Building', pp. 25, 28–29.

<sup>65</sup> The suggestion to continue research in this direction comes from Giulia Barone — whom I would like to thank — in the course of a fruitful discussion which followed on from the presentation of the paper which is at the origin of this present study.

<sup>66</sup> According to the *Descriptio Lateranensis ecclesiae* (twelfth century) these relics were in San Gregorio in clivo Scauri: cf. *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, iii, p. 361.

<sup>67</sup> The body of Andrew the brother of Peter was allegedly buried near the *Augulia Caesaris* near San Pietro according to the *Polistoria del virtutibus et dotibus Romanorum* by Giovanni Cavallini (fourteenth century): see *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, iv, p. 41; according

Council on St Andrew's day is to be understood in some way as relating to the 'return' (as it was presented at the time) of Greek Christianity under papal authority and the reaffirmation of the hierarchy, with Rome placed above all the Churches, and Constantinople immediately after it, the first among the patriarchal sees.<sup>68</sup>

In conclusion, this is what we have been able to gather so far. It is not very much, unfortunately, since, although the papal history of the Middle Ages is relatively well known and studied, we continue to know very little about the Roman clergy, and there is still a lot of work to be carried out. Yet the results we have attempted to reach do not seem to be completely insignificant: we have good reason to believe that the role played by Rome and its clerics during the celebrations of the Fourth Lateran Council was conspicuous. This not only because the event took place in the city — which is a banal consideration — but because of the resonance that was produced between the physical place, the urban territory, and the place that we could call 'psychic', that is to say, the space and the time of the liturgy.

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to Giovanni Rucellai, *Della bellezza e anticaglia di Roma* (fifteenth century), the body was buried inside the basilica of San Pietro: see *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, iv, p. 404, as is also claimed, in the sixteenth century, by the *Nota d'anticaglie et spoglie et cose meravigliose et grande sono nella cipta de Roma da vedere volentieri*, ed. by Fantozzi, p. 16. In 1964 Paul VI gave part of the relics preserved in Rome back to Patras.

68 The role of the patriarch of Constantinople had been discussed on 12 November. See the conciliar Canons 4, *De superbia Graecorum contra Latinos*; 5, *De dignitate patriarcharum*; and 9, *De diversis ritibus in eadem fide*. For another case of a contingent event which led to a general norm, see Canon 14, *De incontinentia clericorum punienda*, which imposed harsher punishments on incontinent ecclesiastics of the Oriental rite, something probably requested by the Latin bishops in the East and of which there is no other similar norm in other Western councils. See here Maccarrone, "Cura animarum" e "parochialis sacerdos" nelle costituzioni del IV Concilio Lateranense, pp. 319–20.

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## Prayer, Penance, and Pastoral Care

*Innocent III and Devotion to the Veronica  
at the Abbey of Corbie*

God you wished to leave behind your image impressed  
on cloth at the urging of Veronica as your memento  
for us who are signed by the light of your face, grant to  
us through your Passion and your cross that we may  
venerate, adore, and honour it even now on earth through  
a mirror and in a mystery so that face to face with you we  
may see in safety our Lord coming as a judge over us.

*Office of the Holy Face, Amiens, BM, MS 115, fol. 178<sup>v</sup>*

Copied into the central folios of a twelfth-century breviary from the abbey of Corbie are three short prayers attributed to Pope Innocent III. A red rubric prefaces each prayer, stating 'Pope Innocent made this prayer for the remission of all sins, and whoever says it daily during the sacrament of the Mass let it be known that he shall have forty days of indulgence for every day he will say it'.<sup>1</sup> Amiens, BM, MS 115 is not a small devotional book for personal use, but rather a large-format monastic liturgical tool.<sup>2</sup> A later hand, scribbled

1 See the Appendix for an edition and translation of the Latin text. I would like to thank the anonymous readers for their comments, and Clare Monagle and Neslihan Şenocak for their guidance and work on this volume. On the link between prayer and indulgences, see Lewis, 'Rewarding Devotion'.

2 For considering texts such as this as liturgical tools, see Symes, 'Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices'; Lowden, 'Illuminated Books and the Liturgy'; and Bennett, 'Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages'.

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on its first folio, notes that it is 'old, in a twelfth-century script, for use in the monastery of St Peter of Corbie (*Antiquum brev*)'.<sup>3</sup> The core of twelfth-century liturgical material reflects the Cluniac reform of the community initiated under Abbot Robert (1123–1142).<sup>4</sup> Victor Leroquais dates the breviary material to the second half of the twelfth century; certainly, as he noted, it was copied before the adoption of the feast of Thomas Becket (1174).<sup>5</sup>

The volume's contents are fairly standard for a twelfth-century liturgical compilation, although its later additions are telling. The core contains a Temporal (spanning folios 1–166), Ferial Psalter (folios 179–204), Common of the Saints (folios 205–29); Office of the Dead, collected chants, hymns, and suffrages (folios 229–38); and a Sanctoral (folios 243–370). Later material was added in several places. On folios 167–72 the Office for the Feast of Corpus Christi (1264) was inserted in a fourteenth-century hand.<sup>6</sup> Around the same time, again in a fourteenth-century hand, a Calendar for Corbie was added spanning folios 173–75, which gives particular prominence to the celebration of local saints, including the community's most influential abbots, Adalhard (r. 814–826) (2 January and 10 October) and Paschasius Radbertus (r. 843–851) (26 April), and the Merovingian queen Balthide (d. 680) (30 January), who was recognized as founder of Corbie, as well as Saint Firmin, bishop of Amiens (d. c. 303) (25 September). A later hand also expands the celebration of the local saints, including the martyr Saint Fuscien and his cohort (27 June and 11 December).<sup>7</sup> For these saints, as is typical, the calendar also notes the number of readings and types of offices (Duplex, Commons, etc.) used to mark their commemoration. Leroquais notes obliquely that 'diverse prayers (*prières diverses*)' were inserted between folios 176 and 178.<sup>8</sup> Finally, on folios 238–42 one finds, in a fifteenth-century hand, the Office for the Visitation of Mary among other material which is difficult to identify because the final folios (folios 240–42) are badly lacerated and deteriorated rendering them effectively unreadable.<sup>9</sup> On folio 339, within the Sanctoral, under the 25 August celebration of the Virgin Saint Hunegundis, another later hand has inserted in the margin an additional

<sup>3</sup> See the description in Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits*, i, pp. 17–20, no. 8, at p. 17. For a sense of the manuscripts produced and copied at Corbie, see Delisle, 'Recherches sur l'ancienne bibliothèque de Corbie', and Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*.

<sup>4</sup> On Abbot Robert, see *Gallia Christiana*, x, col. 1275.

<sup>5</sup> Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits*, i, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits*, i, p. 17. See also Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, and Walters, Corrigan, and Ricketts, eds, *The Feast of Corpus Christi*.

<sup>7</sup> The expansion of this cult was added in the thirteenth century, probably during the episcopate of Richard of Gerberoy. It may also correspond to increased devotion connected to acquiring the relics of John the Baptist after the Fourth Crusade in 1204. See Durand, 'Richard de Gerberoy, évêque d'Amiens'. For the integration of relics into northern France following 1204, see Lester, 'Translation and Appropriation'.

<sup>8</sup> Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits*, i, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> One can see this on the manuscript itself, and this is also noted by Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits*, i, p. 19.

set of collects and prayers in celebration of the feast 'of Saint Louis, King'.<sup>10</sup> In short, over the course of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the volume was updated to keep the monks and their larger lay community in touch with liturgical trends and innovations.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the insertion of new material between the *Temporal* and the *Psalter* meant that those texts were relatively easy to find and to incorporate, as needed, into an office or Mass at various points and perhaps repeatedly throughout the liturgical year.

The prayers attributed to Pope Innocent appear among those Leroquais labelled 'diverse prayers' found on folios 176<sup>v</sup>–178<sup>v</sup>. They begin (on fol. 176<sup>v</sup>) with two prayers to the Virgin Mary, prayers for the Ordinary of the Mass instructing the recitation of Psalm 42, *Iudica me, Deus*, followed by the antiphon *Introibo ad altare Dei*, and then (fol. 178<sup>v</sup>) the 'prayer to Mary and Saint John (*oratio ad sanctam Mariam et ad sanctum Iohannem*)' known as *O intemerata et in eternum benedicta*.<sup>12</sup> On the reverse of the folio (fol. 178<sup>v</sup>), separately rubricated, are three prayers attributed to Innocent:

1. *Respic domine deus*
2. *Deus qui nobis*
3. *Depreco te domina sancta Maria mater dei*

These three prayers are followed by a series of *Ave Marie* and *Ave Ihesu Christi* invocations and the prayer *Deus qui in sancta cruce pendens*. Given the nature of these prayers, they seem to have been intended to supplement the Mass and to be said at either the beginning or the end of the Mass, and either collectively as a collect (that is, together and thus publicly as a community) or secretly, that is, quietly to oneself in a moment of private devotion inserted into the more communal moment of the Mass.

Of the three papal prayers attributed to Innocent, the second one, which I will focus on here, is specifically rubricated along the right-hand inner margin as a collect and thus was to be said in prayer following the Mass, used in a sense to amplify the Mass. This central prayer is in fact a mini-office and can be identified as a version of the text known as the 'Office of Innocent III' for the *sudarium* or the *Ave facies praclara*.<sup>13</sup> As with other known versions of the office, this one stitches together several lines from the Psalms. It begins

<sup>10</sup> Amiens, BM, MS 115, fol. 339<sup>v</sup>: 'de Sancto Ludovico Rege . collecta . Deus qui beatum'. On this prayer for Louis, see Gaposchkin, *Blessed Louis, the Most Glorious of Kings*, pp. 210–11.

<sup>11</sup> The monks controlled a network of parishes throughout the region, and it is possible that the commemorations at the abbey also served their broader parish community. On the parishes of Corbie, see Zoller-Devroey, 'Le domaine de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Corbie', and Morelle, 'L'histoire retouchée par le droit'.

<sup>12</sup> This prayer became quite common by the later thirteenth century and was used, as Adelaide Bennett notes, in private devotions and copied into Psalter-Hours. See Bennett, 'A Thirteenth-Century French Book of Hours for Marie', p. 22 and n. 18.

<sup>13</sup> There is a vast bibliography dedicated to the history of the *sudarium* as well as the office written for its veneration and attributed to Pope Innocent III. Useful points of departure

with a line from Psalm 4. 7, 'The light of your face is signed upon us, Lord' (*Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine*). This is followed by 'May God have mercy on us' (*Deus misereatur nostri*) from Psalm 66. 2. It repeats Psalm 4. 7, 'The light of your face is signed upon us, Lord' (*Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui domine*), joined to a version of Psalm 85. 17, 'Grant me a sign Lord for good' (*fac mecum domine signum in bonum*), and followed by the Our Father (*Pater noster*). The new collect, or prayer composition, then begins 'God you wished to leave behind your image [...] signed by the light of your face' (*Deus qui nobis signatis lumine vultus tui*) which is a version of the office attributed to Innocent III (see the Appendix).<sup>14</sup>

This middle prayer-cum-mini-office was directed toward the Veronica, that is, the cloth or *sudarium* that, it was believed, Veronica offered to Christ so he could wipe the sweat from his face as he progressed to Golgotha while carrying the burden of the cross.<sup>15</sup> Miraculously, the image of his face was left impressed upon the cloth as a relic.<sup>16</sup> The prayer in Amiens, BM, MS 115 called forth the image of the Veronica and the mystery of Christ's presence. Its recitation asked the individual to see — by means of prayer — the light of Christ's face as it would be when the supplicant stood facing God at the Last Judgement. The prayer-collect was thus penitential and adoring, focused at once on the personal encounter with God as well as the ideal of collective salvation at the end of time. Typically, this prayer was offered before an image of the Veronica, either, as we shall see, before the relic itself, in Rome and elsewhere, or before one of many copies of the object and image of Christ's face that came to proliferate by the turn of the fourteenth century specifically in manuscript renderings and illuminations.<sup>17</sup> As such, by the later Middle Ages, it had become one of Innocent III's more well-known prayer cycles.

Taken together, all of the prayers copied into the central folios of Amiens, BM, MS 115 emphasize the power of the face-to-face encounter with Christ, whether through the intercession of Mary and John the Evangelist, who were

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include Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III. und die Veronica'; Corbin, 'Les Offices de la Sainte Face'; and Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, pp. 27–83.

<sup>14</sup> Building on the work of Solange de Mangoux Corbin, Alexa Sand has recently put together several of the offices for the Holy Face from northern France, and specifically from the region around Amiens. I hope that Amiens, MS 115 adds to this corpus. See Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, pp. 81–83. Her transcriptions were invaluable to me.

<sup>15</sup> The legend of the Veronica, or Veronica's veil, and that of the Mandylion (also known as the cloth of Edessa), another cloth that covered Christ's face in the tomb, are often intertwined and confused. For a discussion of the two and their different histories in the East and West, see the articles in Kessler and Wolf, eds, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, especially Wolf, 'From Mandylion to Veronica'.

<sup>16</sup> For the story of the Veronica, the Vera Icon, or true image, see Wolf, 'From Mandylion to Veronica'.

<sup>17</sup> On the proliferation of images of the Veronica, see Van Dijk, 'The Veronica, the *Vultus Christi* and the Veneration of Icons'; Clark, 'Venerating the Veronica'; Head, 'Salve sancta facies'; Hamburger, "Frequentant Memoriam Visionis Faciei Meae"; and the essays collected in Murphy and others, eds, *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica*.

present at the crucifixion, or through calling to mind Christ hanging on the cross, or by invoking the mystery of his presence in the cloth — the material veil — that once touched his face. These prayers, moreover, would have amplified the miracle of the Mass and emphasized Christ's presence in the bread and wine during the consecration, which would have occurred shortly before the prayers were intoned. By scripting the prayer sequence and by copying them together, Innocent's message (copied by the monks of Corbie) was clear: the moment of consecration was the most powerful moment to converse with God, to petition for his mercy and salvation, and to ask for favour and beneficent judgement. The inclusion of a forty-day indulgence was an inducement for attendance at the Mass for only when said in that moment, as a collect, would the prayer have the merit the rubric prescribed.

Finally, that the prayers attributed to Innocent III were to be read aloud rather than secretly or privately is emphasized by the manuscript annotation itself. What may be reading marks are visible above the intoned vowels of these prayers and are absent on the previous folio where the long prayer *O intemerata et in eternum* is copied and likewise absent in the rubrication defining the terms of the indulgence, which was not intended to be read aloud.<sup>18</sup> Corbie functioned as both a monastic and parish community in that the monks shared the monastic church with the local community as well as overseeing a network of parishes in the surrounding region, an arrangement that was not uncommon in northern France for a monastic house founded during the Merovingian period. It is thus possible that these prayers were read aloud as part of the pastoral care performed by the monks, a care rooted in Innocent's vision of universal participation in the Church. Moreover, the fact that they were added to the manuscript following the inclusion of the feast of Corpus Christi further emphasized the idea of the presence of Christ at and in the Mass.<sup>19</sup>

In what follows, my intention in focusing on the prayers attributed to Innocent III is twofold. Narrowly, I hope to show why these prayers were copied into the middle folios of Amiens, BM, MS 115 and to suggest how they may have been used in the monastic and parish context. More broadly, I set Innocent's prayers into the context of his papal reform agenda to deepen our sense of his role also as a pastoral leader. My intention is to move from the specific to the general to show that Innocent's ambitions for reform were both personal and communal. He was simultaneously concerned with the spiritual well-being of all of Christendom collectively as well as the spiritual health of each prayerful soul. As a true pastor, he used the medium of prayer and a prayer's repeated, replicated, recitation to engage the two ideas together.<sup>20</sup> Prayer for the pope was part of a broader process to galvanize the laity

<sup>18</sup> See Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory'.

<sup>19</sup> On the parallels between the Veronica and the Eucharist, objects that were both replicated, and thus formed part of the 'media' of the message of the Mass and Christocentric devotion, see Wolf, 'From Mandylion to Veronica', and Kumler, 'Signatis ... vultus tui'.

<sup>20</sup> On the power of prayer as a medium in both the monastic and personal contexts, see Fulton,

and vowed religious together as one voice entreating the salvation of self, community, and Christendom.<sup>21</sup> I examine these questions first by offering some background for the Corbie prayers and the Veronica prayer in particular by looking closely at the context in which these prayers were attributed to Innocent III. I then set Innocent's prayer composition in relation to other liturgical reforms he put in place during his papacy, particularly reforms focused on the crusades. Finally, I turn to the practice of prayer itself in the context of Corbie to consider the prayers in light of recent work that has called attention to the transformative effects of prayer. I conclude that process and practice mattered to Innocent immensely, for together they formed a fundamental part of self-transformation that lay at the heart of his ideal of reform. Behind such personal transformations lingered sustained worries about the crusader East and the fight against heresy, which constantly preoccupied Innocent's papacy.

### **Innocent and Veronica: Image, Prayers, and Replication**

The light of your face is signed upon us, Lord:  
you have given joy in my heart. (Psalm 4. 7)

*Office of the Holy Face*, Amiens, BM, MS 115, fol. 178<sup>v</sup>

Innocent III is not often thought of as an author of prayers or as a liturgist. His pontificate was known for its administrative acumen, and for the vast corpus of over fifty thousand surviving letters.<sup>22</sup> As an author, his several theological treatises and numerous sermons, widely read and copied throughout the high Middle Ages, have garnered much more attention.<sup>23</sup> Taken together, these texts offer insight into how he conceived of the role of the Mass in the life of the laity and professed religious alike. They express his contempt for the material world and an interest in the meaning and significance of ecclesiastical offices, vestments, rituals, and practices. Whereas his letters show a man determined to reform, realign, and regulate the state of the Church and society at the

<sup>21</sup> 'Praying with Anselm at Admont'; Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance'; and Burnett, 'Joy in Repetition'.

<sup>22</sup> Aspects of this broader project have been addressed by Moore, *Pope Innocent III*; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land*, and Cole, 'Purgatory and Crusade in St Gregory's Trental'; Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade'; and Jordan, 'Perpetual Alleluia and Sacred Violence'.

<sup>23</sup> See Innocent III, *Die Register*, ed. by Hageneder and others. Most of Innocent's letters and treatises have been printed in vols 214–17 of the *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina* (hereafter PL).

<sup>24</sup> See Moore, 'The Sermons of Pope Innocent III'; Powell, 'Pastor Bonus'. On Innocent's treatises, see for example, Lothario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III), *On the Misery of the Human Condition*, ed. by Howard, trans. by Dietz; Kehnel, 'Päpstliche Kurie und menschlicher Körper'; and Klitzsch, "Date eleemosynam" – Facetten der Theologie der Almosen Innocenz' III.'

turn of the thirteenth century. And his most famous papal bulls, especially *Vineam Domini*, the letter that summoned the Fourth Lateran Council in 1213, and *Quia maior* (1213), initiating the Fifth Crusade, show a pope provoking Christendom to action.<sup>24</sup>

And yet, medieval individuals, particularly in northern Europe, would have known Innocent also through the medium of prayer. In the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, which were to be read aloud in parishes and cathedrals, he called them to confess once a year before taking the Mass.<sup>25</sup> Parishioners would have been aware that the pope — at critical junctures of Christian victory and loss — called them to account and to speak to God through prayers attached to the Mass and Office. Indeed, Innocent often used the composition and insertion of additional sermons as well as prayers and offices (the stitching together of prayers with psalms, sequences, and responses) to unite Christendom in common cause.<sup>26</sup>

We can see Innocent thinking like a pastor at many points during his pontificate. It was in the context of contention both in the city of Rome and abroad that Innocent composed the office and collect for the veneration of the Veronica, short texts that eventually made their way into the Corbie breviary. For much of the winter and spring of 1208, Rome had been wracked by discord as different parts of the city fought one another and resisted the papal display of wealth and authority. In part to counter such movements, and to unite St Peter's and the area near the river in Sassia, on the second Sunday after Epiphany, that is, on the feast of the Marriage at Cana, Innocent III instituted a new procession in honour of the papal relic known as the Veronica. Purported to have been kept in St Peter's Basilica since the time of Charlemagne, by the middle of the twelfth century the Veronica was believed to have been 'the *sudarium* of Christ, the cloth into which he pressed his most holy face before his Passion, when his sweat ran in drops of blood to the earth'.<sup>27</sup> Thinking as a pastor, Innocent used ritual as a way to bring his city together. He initiated a procession to begin at St Peter's and to process the Veronica relic through the streets of Rome to the Hospital of

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<sup>24</sup> These bulls as well as other letters have been collected and translated in *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters, and Powell. There is a vast bibliography related to Innocent and the Fourth Lateran Council. For a recent overview of that literature, see Wayno, 'Rethinking the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215'.

<sup>25</sup> See Jones, 'The Preacher of the Fourth Lateran Council'.

<sup>26</sup> I shall develop this in more detail below. See, for example, Cole, 'Purgatory and Crusade in St Gregory's *Trental*'; Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade'; Bird, 'Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle and the Crusade Indulgence'; and Jones, 'Fulk of Neuilly, Innocent III, and the Preaching of the Fourth Crusade'.

<sup>27</sup> One of the earliest descriptions of the relic at St Peter's comes from Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, at p. 420 (c. 1160). See also De Waal, 'Die antiken Reliquiare der Peterskirche', pp. 255 and 257; Van Dijk, 'The Veronica, the *Vultus Christi* and the Veneration of Icons'; and Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p. 541.

Santo Spirito in Sassia.<sup>28</sup> Santo Spirito was part of his pastoral ambitions to reform the city and its people, and he had paid to have the hospital rebuilt and dedicated to the Order of the Holy Spirit, whose mission was to care for the poor, sick, pilgrims, orphans, and especially abandoned children and infants.<sup>29</sup>

The Veronica, which had been used to succour Christ as he suffered along the *Via Crucis*, was an appropriate thaumaturgical object to carry to the new hospital.<sup>30</sup> Enclosed in a reliquary (*capsum*) 'of gold and silver with precious gems, made especially to carry it reverently', it was an object that evoked *caritas* and care.<sup>31</sup> In a letter instituting the celebration, the pope made clear that the procession of the cloth was like a visit from Christ himself: '[Just as] Jesus and his disciples went as guests to the wedding [...] in Galilee [...] for that reason, most sensibly, we institute that the image of Jesus Christ be carried down from the basilica of blessed Peter by the canons to the said hospital'.<sup>32</sup> And, as he emphasized in the sermon he wrote for the occasion, just as Jesus turned water into wine (and later bread into flesh), so here, the cloth carried — became — Christ's presence among the sick.<sup>33</sup> To reaffirm this miracle, Innocent added an annual act of papal charity in imitation of Christ's beneficent miracle of feeding the masses: one thousand paupers and three hundred residents of the hospital would each receive 'three *denarii*, one for bread, another for wine, and another for meat'.<sup>34</sup> The pope effected a kind

<sup>28</sup> This was but one of several new processions, as I discuss below. On these processions, see Bolton, 'Advertise the Message'. These rituals can also be put into the context of Innocent's general plan for the renewal of Rome as a papal city. On this, see Bolton, 'A New Rome in a Small Place'?

<sup>29</sup> Innocent III, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Migne: For the procession, see PL 215, cols 1270–71 and 1334, and PL 217, col. 345, for the sermon he preached on the same date. Additional texts related to the hospital's foundation and rule are in PL 217, cols 1129–55. On the hospital foundation, see Drossbach, 'The Roman Hospital of Santo Spirito'. See also Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III. und die Veronica'.

<sup>30</sup> Alexa Sand makes this point, in Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, pp. 31–32; also Wolf, 'From Mandylion to Veronica', who discusses briefly the thaumaturgical potential of the image and its copies.

<sup>31</sup> 'Capsum ex auro et argento et lapidibus pretiosis ad hoc specialiter fabrefactam venerabiliter deportetur', PL 215, col. 1270. Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, p. 32, describes the reliquary as an ostensory as it was specially made to be carried, and thus was intended for display.

<sup>32</sup> 'Quia vero Jesus cum discipulis suis ad has nuptias in Cana Galileae, ubi mater ejus erat, legitur invitatus, idcirco rationabiliter instituimus ut effigies Jesu Christi a beati Petri basilica per ejusdem canonicos ad dictum hospitalis', PL 215, col. 1270.

<sup>33</sup> PL 217, col. 350. Innocent often displayed an interest in the transformation of material substances in many of his sermons and treatises. The meaning behind material objects is certainly an important theme animating his text *De sacro altaris mysterio*, PL 217, cols 775–914.

<sup>34</sup> 'Ut autem nos, qui Domino revelante venerandum alii aperuimus sacramentum, eo etiam inspirante imitandum alii prebeamus exemplum, concedimus, statuimus et jubemus ut pro mille pauperibus extrinsecus adventantibus et trecentis personis intus decentibus decem et septem libae usualis monetae, ut singuli accipiant tres denarius unum pro pane, alterum pro vino, aliumque pro carne, ab eleemosynario summi pontifices annuatim vobis in perpetuum tribuantur'. PL 217, col. 1270.

of Eucharistic miracle that associated the presence of the Veronica with the very presence of Christ as one could experience at the Mass, in the material form of bread and wine.<sup>35</sup>

Although the procession and ostentation of the Veronica remained a local ritual, Innocent composed an office with prayers and incipits that made veneration of the Veronica a commemoration in its own right that gained wide adoption beyond the city of Rome.<sup>36</sup> Devotion to the relic and its many reproductions flourished in the decades that followed.<sup>37</sup> The appeal of the office was built upon the promise its prayers articulated: the face-to-face encounter with God that could be transformative. The notion that 'God [...] wished to leave behind [an] image impressed on cloth at the urging of Veronica as [a] memento for us who are signed by the light of your face' (*Deus qui nobis signatis lumine vultus tui memoriale tuum ad instantiam Veronice ymaginem tuam sudario impressam relinquere voluisti*) reiterated the very idea behind God's physical presence in the world, as an impression and a material substance that could be seen, held, beheld, and, in the case of the Eucharist, tasted and ingested. Moreover, the very idea that God's impression, his image, was radiant and leaves a mark upon the supplicant was equally powerful. The impression of his light was made in two ways by saying the prayer: through imagining the image of the face and through the repeated impression left by the very words of the spoken prayer. 'Grant to us through your Passion and your cross that we may venerate, adore, and honour it even now on earth through a mirror and in a mystery so that face to face with you we may see in safety our Lord coming as a judge over us' (*per passionem et crucem tuam nobis tribue ut ita nunc in terris per speculum et in enigmate venerari adorare honorare ipsum valeamus ut tecum facie ad faciem venientem super nos iudicem securi videamus. Dominum nostrum*).<sup>38</sup> This final line of the prayer offers adoration through the spoken word and asks in turn for the sight of God. Prayer, repeated prayer, had the potential to invoke and then evoke the face of the divine. Through the prayers for the Veronica the material and the textual (spoken word) worked together to conjure and reinforce the intimate encounter with God.

<sup>35</sup> On this, see Wolf, 'From Mandylion to Veronica', pp. 167–68; Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, pp. 28–29, 54–55, and 79; and Kuryluk, *Veronica and her Cloth*, pp. 6–8, 190–95. As Sand notes, over time it was the reproducibility of the image that made it like the Eucharist. And in some later painted images of the Veronica, as for example in the Psalter-Hours of Yolande of Soissons, as Sand states, 'the material nature of the Veronica is fully elided with that of the Host: they are not incidentally similar to, but substantially like, one another' (p. 55). For the reproducibility of the Eucharist in material and iconographical terms, see Kumler, 'Manufacturing the Sacred in the Middle Ages', and Kumler, 'Signatis ... vultus tui'.

<sup>36</sup> See Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III. und die Veronica', and Corbin, 'Les Offices de la Sainte Face'.

<sup>37</sup> See above, note 17.

<sup>38</sup> On the genealogy of the prayers attributed to Innocent III, see Corbin, 'Les Offices de la Sainte Face', esp. pp. 27–28; as they appear in Psalters and devotional books in the thirteenth century, see Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, pp. 37–40 and 81–83.

## Liturgy, Prayer, and Response

God, you who order all things through your marvellous providence, we humbly pray to you to seize from the hands of the enemies of the cross the land consecrated with the blood of your only begotten Son, and to restore it to Christian worship by guiding in your mercy the vows of your faithful, who seek its liberation, along the path of eternal salvation.

*Quia maior* (1213)

As the bishop of Rome, Innocent was instrumental in the liturgical renewal of the city in addition to its urban revival and rebuilding.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, the transmission of the Veronica office prayers sits within the broader context of Innocent's conception of prayer itself as a mechanism of reform and unity across Christendom. Each prayer could be part of a wider and more efficacious conversation with God, entailing praise as well as propitiation in times of need. This vision is manifest across the liturgical and para-liturgical texts Innocent commissioned and wrote himself. Unfortunately, most of these textual traditions have been studied separately by historians of the liturgy, of monastic orders, or of the crusades. Taken together, however, they suggest much more decisively how the pope thought about the breadth of his flock, about Christendom as a whole, and about how each voice stood before the face of God. While space does not allow for a close reading of this wealth of material, a brief overview of some of Innocent's initiatives suggests the programmatic nature of the pope's pastoral ambitions.

During the second half of his pontificate Innocent began the process of reforming the liturgy of the papal chapel, aligning it with the newer liturgical compilations produced for the first Franciscan communities in Assisi that formed around Francis and Clare. Although the authorship of the precise liturgical texts is not clear, Innocent was responsible in large measure for beginning a process of liturgical reform that saw the replacement of the Old Roman rite with more elaborated Gregorian chant. Moreover, as Morné Bezuidenhout has argued, building on the research of S. J. P. Van Dijk, in comparing the oldest examples of the papal chapel ordinal with other contemporary liturgical texts composed in the papal circle, the goal was to expand specific feasts, amplify offices, and supplement the liturgy with extra Alleluia verses associated with the Gregorian tradition. This process seems to have begun at the papal chapel in the Lateran and from there radiated outward by the end of Innocent's pontificate and during that of his successor Honorius III.<sup>40</sup> Clearly, although more work is needed on this topic, bringing the Franciscans into the Church

<sup>39</sup> On this, see Van Dijk and Walker, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court*; Van Dijk, 'The Manuscripts of a Liturgical Reform by John Cajetan Orsini (Nicholas III)'; and Tomasello, 'Ritual, Tradition, and Polyphony at the Court of Rome'. Also, more generally, Moore, *Pope Innocent III*.

<sup>40</sup> See Bezuidenhout, 'The Old and New Historical Views of Gregorian Chant'.

entailed an important effort of liturgical alignment and renovation. Indeed, Innocent understood well that the fundamental unity of any monastic order was to be found in its paralleled liturgical practice and set of shared texts, something the Cistercians had modelled.

Innocent's vision, however, went far beyond the papal chapel and the monastic and mendicant orbit of Rome. As many scholars have shown, he used the robust cadre of university-trained preachers, schooled in Paris and Bologna like himself, to coordinate prayers, processions, and clamours as a way to speak with God. As Christoph Maier, Damien Smith, and Cecilia Gaposchkin have shown, the crusade context offered urgency for this form of communication. On 16 May 1212, the Wednesday following Pentecost, Innocent organized what Maier has described as 'a lavish liturgical event in Rome [...] which involved the clergy and laity of the city and consisted of several processions, culminating in a sermon preached by the pope himself in front of the palace of the bishop of Albano and followed by masses and prayers for the success of the crusade'.<sup>41</sup> He timed this event to coincide with what he believed would be the beginning of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which occasioned the victory of a unified Iberian and French force over the Muslim armies of Al-Nasir. The procession deliberately fused the ideology of crusade with the intensification of lay piety. As Damien Smith argued, 'Innocent used the liturgical skills he had learnt before all else to control and sacralize the crowd, to draw the Roman and the wider Christian community into a union with the crusaders who were about to fight in the Peninsula, and to ally all Christian people through the Eucharist and the Cross, so that in combination with all the saints, through their spiritual purity they could persuade God to give them victory'.<sup>42</sup> And Innocent's ambitions were vast. The procession he outlined called all the people to participate: women gathered in the morning at Santa Maria Maggiore, the clergy at the Church of the Apostles, and lay men at Saint Anastasia. After bells were rung and collects said, all three groups processed to the Lateran plaza (*campus*). Each group walked behind three processional crosses: nuns led the women bearing the cross of Santa Maria Maggiore; monks, canons, and other clerics carried the cross of the *Romana fraternitas*, a powerful fraternity involving many of the urban clergy of Rome, and *hospitalariai* and lay men proceeded behind the cross of St Peter. The pope, cardinals, bishops, and chaplains then entered the Sancta Sanctorum, took the relics of the True Cross, and processed to the palace of the bishop of Albano, where the full group assembled. Innocent then preached a sermon and the crowd disbursed: the women to Santa Croce for Mass and prayers (*Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus*), and the men to the Lateran for a separate Mass and then on separately to Santa Croce for the recitation of the same set of prayers. Everyone was instructed to fast, excepting the infirm. And all

<sup>41</sup> Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade', p. 633; PL 216, cols 698–99.

<sup>42</sup> Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon*, pp. 105–06.

were to give alms to ensure God's compassion for his people.<sup>43</sup> Versions of this procession may also have been performed in France at the same time.<sup>44</sup> The victory that followed at Las Navas (on 16 July 1212) only served to underline the conviction that liturgical actions on the home front were a beneficial element of the crusade movement.

Growing from such successes, Innocent advocated for the liturgy as an integral part of crusades to the Holy Land as well. *Quia maior*, the bull he circulated to call the Fifth Crusade in 1213, ordered new processions throughout Europe to take place monthly, and exhorted all people — divided by gender — to take part. Even greater emphasis was placed on prayer, both as a communal act and as a reorientation of the self in the cultivation of a devout bearing and frame of mind. The laity and clergy alike were to pray for the success of the crusade, and prostrate themselves in prayer during the daily Mass while the clergy chanted Psalms 78 and 67.<sup>45</sup> In addition, as Gaposchkin has shown, here too Innocent III also replaced *Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus* 'with a collect explicitly focused on the Holy Land'. He instructed the priest celebrating to chant this prayer, that is, the collect, at the altar, asking God 'who arranges all with astonishing providence (*Deus qui admirabili providencia*) [...] to restore to Christian worship that land, which your own begotten son consecrated with his own blood, snatching it from the hands of the enemies of the cross, by mercifully directing the vows of the faithful pressing hard for its liberation, into the way of eternal salvation'.<sup>46</sup> Innocent then created through this prayer a continuum that connected the vows of the faithful with Christ's passion and suffering which made the Holy Land a Christian, consecrated, space. Prayer became a powerful vehicle for reframing and redirecting the crusade movement. As Maier notes, chronicle evidence suggests that these instructions were followed, particularly in the north and in the diocese of Liège.<sup>47</sup> Innocent's successors likewise called the laity to process and pray: in 1217 Honorius III required prayers to support the king of Hungary and the duke of Austria in the east; in 1226 he repeated the directions of *Quia maior* calling for prayers and processions; and in 1240 Gregory IX called for processions in support of the campaign against the Hohenstaufen. As Maier notes, by the 1250s communal and private prayer, accompanied by the tolling of bells, had become an integral part of the crusade movement. In this way,

<sup>43</sup> Here I follow the description of the event given in Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon*, p. 106; and PL 216, cols 553, 698–99. See also Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 204–05; and Twyman, 'The Romana Fraternitas and Urban Processions at Rome'.

<sup>44</sup> On 31 January 1212, Innocent III wrote to French bishops asking for prayer in support of the Iberian expeditions. See PL 216, cols 513–14. Mention is also made by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, p. 894. See also Dickson, 'Stephen of Cloyes, Philip Augustus, and the Children's Crusade of 1212'; and Dickson, 'La Genèse de la croisade des enfants (1212)'.

<sup>45</sup> PL 216, cols 817–22; and Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, p. 206. On the importance of these Psalms and the litanies, see Bird, 'Rogations, Litanies and Crusade Preaching'.

<sup>46</sup> PL 216, col. 821; my translation draws on Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 207–08.

<sup>47</sup> See Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade', p. 634.

the involvement of the ‘whole of Christian society’ found forceful expression through prayer and liturgy.<sup>48</sup>

A final additional innovation that transformed crusade liturgy and recruitment was Innocent III’s extension of the crusade indulgence to those who took the vow, but then redeemed their vows with money to support endeavours in the east. This tied the indulgence to communal and private prayer in a new way, and did so in a manner that aligned the practice with the indulgence and prayer he created at the same moment for those who venerated the Veronica. Indulgences served as an inducement to prayer and to communal supplication. They also aided in the programme of moral reform that Innocent advocated so forcefully and that was preached — alongside crusading — by the cadre of preachers he cultivated from his days as a student in Paris. The elaboration of the liturgy through the additions of collects proved a powerful and compelling strategy to draw the laity into the prayerful service of the Church, and to make them more like the monks and nuns who sang and clamoured for crusading successes, and the crusaders who sacrificed themselves — like Christ — for his patrimony in the east and for the purity of Christendom.

### Material Potential: Collective Prayers and Pastoral Care in Northern France

Pope Innocent made this prayer for the remission of sins of all Christians so that whoever will have said it daily during the sacrament of the Mass, let it be known that he shall have forty days of indulgence for every day he will say it.

*Office of the Holy Face, Amiens, BM, MS 115, fol. 178v.*

Innocent’s message and medium resounded throughout Europe, and especially in northern France. Innocent and his successors understood — as a good pastor would — how to combine objects and texts, relics and remembrance, to craft a pastoral message that involved both the laity and the religious in actions aimed at deepening the Christian experience and thus more effectively communicating with God. Through his innovative celebration of the Veronica, which brought Christ face to face with the sick and orphaned, as well as his use of the cross in crusade preaching and processions, evoking Christ’s suffering, Innocent set in motion in Rome a template for the use of relics as a focal point for devotion and prayer. This is evident at Corbie in a striking way. There the monks preserved objects and created texts that reaffirmed Innocent’s pastoral goals and combined crusader commemoration and the

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<sup>48</sup> Maier, ‘Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade’, p. 635; Maier also discusses the development of bidding prayers attached to crusade sermons or added into mass books during this period.

granting of indulgences with prayer and care for the sick. In doing so, the monks also reaffirmed the memory of Innocent as an ideal pastor.<sup>49</sup>

At Corbie, much like at other monastic and cathedral communities throughout northern France, crusade relics — objects local crusaders carried back from the Levant and integrated into the local devotional landscape — offered a powerful focus for devotion.<sup>50</sup> Following the events of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), which witnessed the French, Flemish, and Venetian sack of the city of Constantinople and the creation of the Latin Empire (1204–1261), Corbie received a cache of relics. In 1206, or possibly 1213, Robert of Clari, a local knight in the retinue of Peter of Amiens, returned from Constantinople bearing with him both a box of relics and the *historia* of his experiences in the east. Robert's history, transcribed in French, not only recorded the events of the crusade, but also contextualized and shaped the reception of the holy objects he gave to Corbie. Those objects were later recorded in a long *rotulus*, which enumerated the dozens of relics he carried from the Holy Chapel in the Bouceleon Palace.<sup>51</sup> The list may have been copied in a *rotulus* to use during the liturgy, when it would have been read aloud on the feast day commemorating the relics' reception.<sup>52</sup> One of the relics Robert gave to the monks listed in the *rotulus* was a piece of the *sudarium*, an object the monks may have believed was part of the Veronica.<sup>53</sup> What this may have meant to the monks at Corbie during Robert's lifetime or in the decades that followed is not clear. And yet, the presence of the relic, among others, contributed to the perception that the monks possessed a version of the Veronica. Moreover, two histories of the abbey and its treasury, composed in 1638 and 1757 respectively, both described an ordinance attributed to Abbot Raoul in 1246/47 that moved the celebration of the community's relics from 23 June (when it would have overlapped with the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist) to the first Sunday of July. The

<sup>49</sup> Some scholars doubt Innocent's authorship of these prayers, specifically those that form part of the Office. See Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III. und die Veronica'; and Kumler, 'Signatis ... *vultus tui*'. Whether such doubts are founded or not is not the point here. The community at Corbie believed him to be the author of the office and recorded and remembered him as such. For the purposes of this volume, what is perhaps most interesting is that Innocent was remembered and commemorated as a pastor and composer of prayers. On indulgences and prayer, see Lewis, 'Rewarding Devotion'.

<sup>50</sup> Lester, 'Translation and Appropriation'.

<sup>51</sup> Amiens, BM, MS 527 (thirteenth century). For the treasury of the abbey, see Dusevel, ed., *Histoire abrégée du trésor de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Pierre de Corbie*.

<sup>52</sup> Two later extant breviaries from Corbie, Amiens, BM, MSS 117 and 116 (both late fourteenth century), record the celebration of the relics Robert carried on the first Sunday of July. Amiens, BM, MS 117, fol. 229<sup>v</sup>: 'Dominica prima iulii, agimus festum de sanctis quiescentibus in nostra ecclesia'; and MS 116, fol. 113<sup>v</sup>: 'In veneracione sanctorum reliquiarum nostrarum'. See Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits*, i, p. 23, no. 11 and p. 21, no. 9. On the veneration of the Veronica at Corbie, see Durand, 'Une prétendue relique de Constantinople'.

<sup>53</sup> See my edition of the *rotulus* list in Lester, 'Translation and Appropriation', pp. 115–18. On the slippage during the thirteenth century between the *sudarium* and the Veronica, see Rist, 'Innocent III and the Roman Veronica'.

celebration became known as the *Pardons de Corbie*, during which time the community ‘exposerat à la vénération des peuples la Ste Véronique, c'est-à-dire les images du Sauveur et de la sainte Vierge peintes par St Luc’.<sup>54</sup> There may be several compressed traditions expressed in this anecdote, however; if the early modern historians are correct, Abbot Raoul was responsible for opening the celebration of the community’s relics to the people and attaching ‘pardons’ or indulgences to the veneration and viewing of the objects. The prayers attributed to Innocent III and associated with the Veronica would be a reasonable addition to this celebration. Certainly, by the later fifteenth century, a painted image or icon of the Holy Face was on display in the abbey, and devotion to this object spread.<sup>55</sup> In the layered context of this developing tradition, the prayers for the Veronica attributed to Pope Innocent III made their way into the Corbie breviary by 1280, suggesting that the community believed they too possessed a piece of the cloth imprinted with Christ’s face.

The cult of Veronica at Corbie is not surprising given the growing devotion to the idea of seeing the face of Christ and to experiencing the replication of Christ in the form of the Host. As Gerhard Wolf noted, devotion to the Veronica reinforced the force of the doctrine of transubstantiation affirmed in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council and further instantiated in 1264 with the feast of Corpus Christi, which would become dominant by the fourteenth century. By that time, veneration of the Eucharist had become a prominent part of lay religiosity and civic devotion.<sup>56</sup> As Wolf argued, ‘the dissemination of the cult of the Veronica and its copies is an exact parallel to the increasing visual “activation”, this “*manducatio per visum*” of the infinitely “reproducible” body of Christ, hidden but truly present in the veil of the host’.<sup>57</sup> Connecting prayers and indulgences to the increasingly portable, reproducible, presence of Christ contributed to the ‘mediatisation’ of the image and the object.<sup>58</sup> After the 1240s, images of the Holy Face proliferated, especially in northern France. In 1249, responding to the request of his sister, the abbess of the Cistercian nunnery of Montreuil-les-Dames outside of Laon, Jacques Pantaléon, who

<sup>54</sup> Durand, ‘Une prétendue relique de Constantinople’, p. 213. Durand cites both of these histories, which form part of a volume kept in the regional museum: Amiens, Musée, Bibl. de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, MS 452, pp. 946–47. I have not been able to consult this volume.

<sup>55</sup> Durand, ‘Une prétendue relique de Constantinople’, demonstrates that the ‘icon’ of the Veronica venerated at Corbie during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was produced in the West, painted on leather stretched over wood, and became a devotional focal point of its own. For the later reception and copies of similar Veronica icons, see Murphy and others, eds, *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica*.

<sup>56</sup> Wolf, ‘From Mandylion to Veronica’, pp. 167–68; Kumler, ‘*Signatis ... vultus tui*’, pp. 111–12; Rist, ‘Innocent III and the Roman Veronica’, pp. 121–24; and Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

<sup>57</sup> Wolf, ‘From Mandylion to Veronica’, p. 168.

<sup>58</sup> This is Wolf’s term (‘From Mandylion to Veronica’, pp. 168–69), however Kumler expands on this to consider coins, badges, and *méreaux* in Kumler, ‘*Signatis ... vultus tui*’; see also Kumler, ‘The Multiplication of the Species’.

would become Pope Urban IV (1261–1264), sent an image of the Veronica, later known as the Laon Mandylion, to the nuns from the papal collection of icons for their own veneration and to enhance the local devotional landscape, connecting Laon and Rome with the ‘face to face’ encounter with Christ.<sup>59</sup> Copies then proliferated, especially in Psalters and illuminated manuscripts, perhaps best exemplified by the image of the Holy Face with accompanying office prayers in the so-called Psalter of Yolande of Soissons, most likely produced in Amiens in the 1280s.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, where images of Christ or the Veronica were absent, similar holy-faces could perform parallel devotional work. The cult of the face of John the Baptist at Amiens, for example, so nearby to Corbie and with origins in a similar post–Fourth Crusade relic translation, heightened the devotional attention to face to face prayer in northern France. Innocent’s message was then grafted onto multiple, reproducible, objects of devotion with offices and indulgences to induce the laity to pray.

What is more, at Corbie the Veronica prayers had further parallels with Innocent’s Roman office, for Corbie also housed a hospital at the abbey’s gate where the poor, sick, and pilgrims could find care and respite. Dating from the middle of the twelfth century, by the thirteenth century, hospital sisters lived there to care for the sick.<sup>61</sup> In 1294, the hospital received a formal set of customary regulations from the abbot, acknowledging the presence of nursing sisters, lay brothers, and the sick as a permanent part of the greater monastic and parish community.<sup>62</sup> If the monks believed they kept among their relics part of the *sudarium* from the imperial chapel of Constantinople, as Robert of Clari’s list enumerated, the salvific and healing qualities of the relic could be shared regularly with pilgrims and the sick alike. If they came to hear Mass in the hospital chapel at the abbey gate, Innocent’s prayers — with attached indulgences — offered them a chance to contemplate Christ face to face, or at least in proximity to the image of his face. For the sick, praying the collect which asked God to ‘grant to us through your Passion and your cross that we may [...] now [...] face to face with you [...] see in safety our Lord coming as a judge over us’, surely offered a measure of comfort and perhaps hope for a cure.<sup>63</sup>

59 On this object, see Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*, esp. pp. 7–10; Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, pp. 36–37; and Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p. 218.

60 Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, pp. 27–83; Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons*; and Rudy, ‘Eating the Face of Christ’.

61 See de Mérindol, ‘Le soin des malades dans un monastère de fondation franque’.

62 ‘Domus dictae sorores, infirmi et pauperes qui in eadem domo hospitantur’. *Gallia Christiana*, x, cols 344–45. The same customary charter of 1294 was specifically intent on limiting the number of sisters and *conversae* present in the hospital under the supervision of three *conversi* brothers (*fratres conversos*).

63 For the association of the Veronica and its replications with cures for medical ills, see Rudy, ‘Eating the Face of Christ’, pp. 172–78; and Rudy, *Postcards on Parchment*; and for interactions with such images more generally, see Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*.

This was precisely the kind of comfort and salvation that Innocent and other contemporary reformers argued prayer — as a process and practice — offered. The repetition of the *Ave* salutation-prayers that follow Innocent's prayers in the Corbie breviary further emphasized this idea. Each *Ave* in the manuscript progressed from praise for Christ in the flesh, to Christ in the Host, and to the light of heaven. As Susanna Fein reminds us, 'When Gabriel enunciated, "*Ave Maria gratia plena*", God's Word entered Mary and grew in her womb. [...] *Ave*, a momentous word, marks the instant of Christ's incarnation and carries salvific import'.<sup>64</sup> Here as elsewhere in later medieval repetitious prayer cycles, the *Ave* salutation 'commemorates a core doctrine in late-medieval piety': the word made flesh, the materialization of the divine.<sup>65</sup> Repetition of the Veronica prayers at Corbie also ensured that the idea and image of Innocent III as a good pastor was to persist long after his papacy came to an end.

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<sup>64</sup> Fein, 'Mary to Veronica', p. 969.

<sup>65</sup> Fein, 'Mary to Veronica', p. 969.

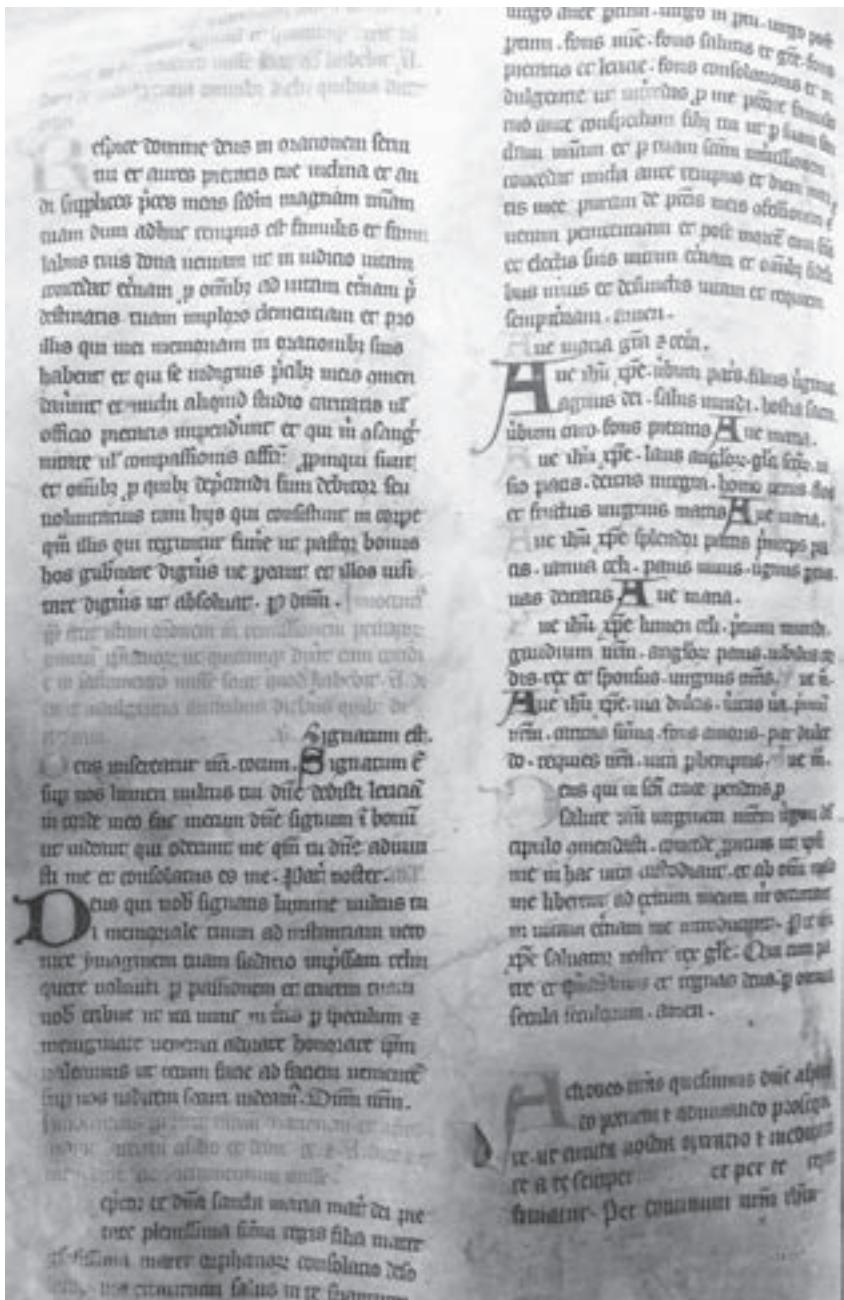


FIGURE 3. Prayers and Office Attributed to Pope Innocent III in the Corbie breviary, c. last quarter of the twelfth century, with additions in later thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hands (49.2cm x 34 cm). France, Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 115, fol. 178v.

## Appendix

### *Innocent's Prayers and Office for the Veronica at Corbie, Edition and Translation\**

Amiens, BM, MS 115, fol. 178<sup>r–v</sup>

Latin	English
[Fol. 178r]	O intemerata et in eternum benedicta singularis atque incomparabilis uirgo dei genitrix maria [...] Esto michi pia in omnibus auxiliatrix [...], etc. <sup>66</sup>
[Fol. 178v]	O unstained and eternally blessed, singular and incomparable virgin Mary mother of God [...] be a merciful helper to me in all things [...], etc.
Respic Domine deus in orationem servi tui et aures pietatis tue inclina et audi supplices preces meas secundum magnam misericordiam tuam dum adhuc tempus est famulis et famulabus tuis dona veniam ut in iudicio vitam concedat eternam pro omnibus ad vitam eternam predestinatis tuam imploro clementiam et pro illis qui mei memoriam in orationibus suis habent et qui se indignis precibus meis commendaverint et michi aliquid studio caritatis uel officio pietatis impenderunt et qui mihi consanguinitate vel compassionis affectu propinquui sunt	Pope Innocent made this prayer for the remission of all sins, and whoever says it daily during the sacrament of the Mass let it be known that he shall have forty days of indulgence for every day he will say it.

\* I would like to thank M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, Scott G. Bruce, and Laurence Bond for their help and expertise with the text and its translation, and for insights into the allusions in the text. Any errors that remain are mine alone.

<sup>66</sup> The prayer *O Intemerata* appears in many Psalter-Hours as it is a prayer to both Mary and John the Evangelist which implores them together to beseech Christ on the part of the devotee. See Bennett, 'A Thirteenth-Century French Book of Hours for Marie', p. 33, where she transcribes the start of the prayer on fols 203–04v. Here she cites Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, pp. 488–90. Behind the spread and popularity of this invocation there may be echoes of Byzantine devotion to Mary and John (although typically this is John the Baptist) and the image of the *Deësis*. Like the *Deësis* imagery, this prayer, and the others that Innocent composed, was a prayer of intercession as well as adoration. On the *Deësis* as intercession, see Walker, 'Two Notes on the *Deësis*'.

Latin	English
et omnibus pro quibus deprecandi sum debitor seu voluntarius tam hiis qui consistunt in corpore quam illis qui reguntur funere ut pastor bonus hos gubernare digneris ne pereant et illos visitare digneris ut absolvat per Dominum. <sup>67</sup>	near to me by blood or by feelings of compassion and to all for whose prayers I am in debt or desirous of, as much to those who linger in body as to those who are ruled by death, so that like a good pastor, you might deign to govern them, lest they should perish and so that you might deign to visit those so that he may absolve them through the Lord
Innocentius pape fecit istam orationem in remissionem peccatorum omnium christianorum, ut quicumque dixerit eam cotidie in sacramento misse sciat quod habebit. xl. dies de indulgentia omnibus diebus quibus dicet eam. ab.	Pope Innocent made this prayer for the remission of sins of all Christians so that whoever will have said it daily during the sacrament of the Mass, let it be known that he shall have forty days of indulgence for every day he will say it.
[v] <i>Signatum est [super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine: dedisti laeticiam in corde meo. (Psalm 4. 7)]</i>	The light of your face is signed upon us, Lord: you have given joy in my heart. (Psalm 4. 7)
<i>Deus misereatur nostri totum. [et benedicat nobis; illuminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nostri. (Psalm 66. 2).]</i>	May God have mercy on us, and bless us: may he shine his face upon us, and may he have mercy on us. (Psalm 66. 2)
<i>Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui domine dedisti laeticiam in corde meo (Psalm 4. 7) fac mecum domine signum in bonum ut videant qui oderunt me [et confundantur] quoniam tu domine adiuvisti me et consolatus es me. (Psalm 85. 17)</i>	The light of your face is signed upon us, Lord: you have given joy in my heart. (Psalm 4. 7) Grant me a sign Lord for good; so that those who hate me may see, [and be confounded,] because you Lord, have helped me and have comforted me. (Psalm 85. 17)
<i>Pater noster.</i>	Our Father.
Deus qui nobis signatis lumine vultus tui memoriale tuum ad instantiam Veronice ymaginem tuam sudario impressam relinquere voluisti per passionem et crucem tuam nobis tribue ut ita nunc in terris per speculum et in enigmate venerari adorare honorare ipsum valeamus ut tecum facie ad faciem venientem super nos iudicem securi videamus. Dominum nostrum.	God you wished to leave behind your image impressed on cloth at the urging of Veronica as your memento for us who are signed by the light of your face, grant to us through your Passion and your cross that we may venerate, adore, and honour it even now on earth through a mirror and in a mystery so that face to face with you we may see in safety our Lord coming as a judge over us.
Innocentius pape fecit istam orationem et confirmavit laterano consilio et dedit cc et xl dies venie quibus dicunt ad sacramentum misse.	Pope Innocent made and confirmed this prayer at the Lateran Council, and he granted 240 days of pardon for those who say it at the sacrament of the Mass.

<sup>67</sup> This prayer, although attributed to Innocent III, appears in a slightly different form in Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri tres*, I, p. 196. It may be, as was common, that Innocent took from the more well-known *Respic Domine Deus* and borrowed large pieces and then added his own. The genealogy of the prayer is not entirely clear to me. In the case above, I have corrected in brackets from the printed version in Martène.

Latin	English
<p>Depreco te domina sancta Maria mater dei pietate plenissima summi regis filia mater glorissima mater orphanorum consolatio desolatorum via errantium salus in te sperantium virgo ante partum, virgo in partu, virgo post partum, fons misericordie, fons salutis et gratie, fons pietatis et leticie, fons consolationis et indulgentie ut intercedas pro me peccatore famulo tuo ante conspectum filii tui ut per suam sanctam misericordiam et per tuam sanctam intercessionem concedat michi ante tempus et diem mortis mee puram de peccatis meis confessionem et veram penitentiam et post mortem cum sanctis et electis suis vitam eternam et omnibus fidelibus vivis et defunctis vitam et requiem sempiternam.<sup>68</sup> Amen.</p>	<p>I entreat you holy lady Mary, mother of God, so full of piety, daughter of the highest king, most glorious mother, mother of orphans, the consolation of the desolate, the way for the wandering, salvation for those hoping in you, virgin before birth, virgin in birth, virgin after birth, font of mercy, font of health and grace, font of piety and happiness, font of consolation and indulgence, so that you might intercede for me, a sinner, your servant, before the sight of your son, so that through his holy mercy and through your holy intercession, he might grant to me before the time and day of my death pure confession of my sins and true penitence, and after death that he may grant eternal life with the saints and his elect and grant to all the faithful, living and dead, eternal life and rest. Amen.</p>
Ave Maria gratia et cetera.	Hail Mary full of grace, etc.
<p>Ave Ihesu Christe. verbum patris. filius virginis. agnus dei. salus mundi. hostia sacra. verbum caro, fons pietatis.</p>	<p>Hail Jesus Christ, word of the father, son of the virgin, lamb of god, saviour of the world, holy sacrifice, word in flesh, font of piety.</p>
Ave Maria.	Hail Mary
<p>Ave Ihesu Christe, laus angelorum, gloria sanctorum, visio pacis, deitas integra, homo verus, flos et fructus virginis matris.</p>	<p>Hail Jesus Christ, praise of angels, glory of saints, vision of peace, whole deity, true man, flower and fruit of the virgin mother.</p>
Ave Maria.	Hail Mary.
<p>Ave Ihesu Christe splendor patris princeps pacis, ianua celi, panis unius, vivrginis partus, vas deitatis.</p>	<p>Hail Jesus Christ, splendour of the father, prince of peace, entry of heaven, bread of each, born of the virgin, container of god.</p>
Ave Maria.	Hail Mary.
<p>Ave Ihesu Christe lumen celi, pretium mundi, gaudium nostrum, angelorum panis, iubilus cordis, rex et sponsus virginis matris.</p>	<p>Hail Jesus Christ, light of heaven, esteem of the world, our joy, bread of the angels, joy of the heart, king and spouse of the virgin mother.</p>
Ave Maria.	Hail Mary.

68 A more thorough study could be made of similar manuscripts that incorporate prayers attributed to Pope Innocent III. This prayer (*Depreco te*) with an accompanying attribution to Innocent III and an indulgence for 260 days also appears in a quite beautiful thirteenth-century breviary from the monastery of Montier-la-Celle near Troyes (*Breviarium ad usum monasterii Cellae prope Trecas*) Troyes, Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, MS 109, fol. 155r. (See <https://portail.mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www.main.cls?surf=search&p=#recordId=2.2439&srchDb=2>).

Latin	English
Ave Ihesu Christe, via dulcis, veritas vera, praemium nostrum, caritas summa, fons amoris, pax dulcedo, requies nostra, vita perhempnis. Ave Maria.	Hail Jesus Christ, way of sweetness, truth of truth, our reward, greatest charity, font of love, sweetest peace, our rest, life eternal. Hail Mary.
Deus qui in sancta cruce pendens pro salute nostra virginem matrem virginis discipulo commendasti, concede propitius ut ipsi me in hac vita custodian, et ab omni malo me liberent ad exitum meum mihi occurrant in vitam eternam me introducant. Per te Ihesu Christe salvator noster rex glorie, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivis et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.	God, who hanging on the holy cross for our salvation, commanded the virgin mother to the virgin disciple, <sup>69</sup> grant favourably that they may guard me in this life and deliver me from all evil, accompany me at my death, and lead me to the life eternal. Through you Jesus Christ our saviour, king of glory, who with the Father and Holy Spirit lives and reigns, God for all ages of ages. Amen.

<sup>69</sup> This is an allusion to John 19. 26–27, when Jesus commands his mother, Mary, to John the Apostle to care for as his mother, and for Mary to care for John as her son. In this prayer — echoing the invocation of both above in *O Intemerata* — Mary and John together are called upon to protect, guard, and deliver from evil the supplicant who says the prayer.

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